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Art. I. *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India.* By PETER AUBER, M.R.A.S., late Secretary to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company. 2 vols. London: W. H. Allen & Co.; Calkin & Budd, Pall Mall. 1837.

HISTORY presents us with astonishing revolutions. Every one, who has been whipped through the common curriculum of a grammar-school, knows well that Virgil described the inhabitants of our island as in his day *Penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos*. The centre of civilization to the poet was the Palatine: yet strange to say, the property of that very spot was reported, when we were abroad, as belonging to an Irish monastery, a Scotch nobleman, and an English gentleman; the two last having purchased their shares of it to delve undisturbed for antiquities. For the precise accuracy of the rumour we will not at present vouch; but a much more striking fact is perfectly notorious: namely, that the successors of those once despised Britons are now sovereigns over an *Orbis terrarum*, of which the then masters of the world had scarcely an idea;—a colonial empire wider in extent than Julius Cæsar himself could have ever conceived;—a population of subjects, tributaries, and allies, larger than Trajan or Constantine ever ruled over;—raising revenues richer than those, that flowed into the imperial treasury of the Antonines;—and sustaining with their protectors and governors a range of commercial relations, in which the exports of Alexandria, or the imports of the Tiber, would have formed but an unimportant particular. In other words, India, the brightest jewel of our foreign possessions, acknowledges the sway of this country, from the Sutlej to Cape Comorin, and from Malacca to the Indus. We shall aim at bringing before the reader a brief survey of the former history of Hindostan; a sketch of the marvellous manner, in which the influence of England has overshadowed

the entire Peninsula; and an outline of the improvements, which we may, through the divine blessing, be the instruments of communicating to a hundred and twenty millions of people.

Nor must the geographical platform of our article be forgotten; for persons are very apt to remain satisfied with imperfect or indefinite notions respecting India. Nature has formed it into three grand divisions, of which two more especially will fall within our limits. There is first the mountainous territory along the northern frontier, consisting of the summits and slopes of the vast Himalaya; secondly, the great central plain of Hindostan Proper, including both the Ganges and Indus, with other magnificent streams watering regions of almost unrivalled fertility; and thirdly, the southern triangle, within the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, terminating in the promontory of Travancore. Chains of high hills, called the Eastern and Western Ghauts, run parallel with the sea on either side; those towards Madras being much the least lofty. The elevated table-lands of the Deccan and Mysore are found in the interior; the former extending from the Kistnah to the Nerbuddah. Pepper and diamonds are among their products; and they are few, who have not heard of the siege of Seringapatam, and the gems of Golconda. The Circars and Cuttack connect the Carnatic with Bengal; whilst Cochin, Calicut, and the Canara, reach along the shores of the Arabian sea to Goa; and the Concans from thence to Surat. Bombay is on an island ceded to the English through the marriage of Charles the Second with Catherine of Portugal. Above the remarkable country of Guzerat extend the states of Rajahpootana to the Punjaub, or kingdom of Lahore. The superficial area of Hindostan may be reckoned at from twelve to thirteen hundred thousand square miles; and the total population at about one hundred and forty millions. The climate cannot be considered unhealthy in the correct sense of that expression; and although the opulence of the soil was exaggerated to the ancients, and still more so to our predecessors of the Middle Ages; the mines and manufactures of India,—its precious stones, silks, rice, sugar, cotton, opium, and indigo, offered such sources of wealth, as were then nowhere else to be found; nor will they fail, in our own times, to afford sufficient rewards for the enterprize and industry of our countrymen.

Prior to the irruption of Alexander, the clouds of mythology and ignorance had veiled its real history from the rest of mankind. A Maharajah stretched his supremacy over perhaps the entire peninsula; governing through the agency of various feudatories, and the support of an established but pagan priesthood. Polytheism and cruelty reigned and revelled. They witnessed with little internal change the rise and fall of the Greek empire of Bactria, the culmination and decline of Parthia and Persia,

under the Arsacides and Sassanides;—the fleeting dynasties of the Taherites, Saffarides, and Samanides; until in the tenth century, three lines of Mahomedan princes arose, whose successors established themselves in Hindostan. These were the Gaznavides, from A.D. 1000 to 1157; when they were driven out of their Indian conquests, by the Gaurides, from Gaur, a province to the north of Gazna; and the Charazmians, so called from the capital of their native kingdom; but whose domination, after lasting scarcely a dozen years, fell before Zenghis Khan in 1221. During this interval of tempest and change, the dignity of Maharajah had become merely nominal; the provinces undergoing the usual fate of being parcelled out amongst bold and ambitious chieftains. Their tribute, indeed, went into the treasury of Moslem conquerors; and a pretended allegiance might be given to the representatives of their ancient master: but with these limitations, the strongest arm, or the shrewdest head lorded it in each separate division of the land. The Deccan seems to have maintained an undisturbed subjection to Indian sovereigns, until 1293, when it was invaded by the governor of Kurrah. An Affghaun race of potentates then succeeded; and amidst many fluctuations, preserved their sway to the commencement of the sixteenth century; although at the close of the fourteenth, Timour the Tartar had planted his standard upon the marble towers of Delhi. One of his viceroys, Chizar Khan, contended successfully for the sceptre: but the Tartarian government had grown odious in the eyes of all, when the Uzbecks, invading Great Bokhara, A.D. 1493, constrained Baber, the descendant of Timour, to seek another throne, than that of Samarcand, in the cities of Northern Hindostan. By this hero, and his posterity, the paramount rule of the Grand Mogul was rendered nearly co-extensive with the boundaries of the Peninsula. Humaioon carried his arms into Malwa and Guzerat. Under Akbar, Bengal, Viziapore, and Golconda, were all subdued. Shah Jehan conquered the Deccan; and Aurungzebe augmented his empire from river to river, until at length he encountered the Mahrattas. Beneath his baleful, yet majestic shadow, sixty millions of slaves groaned in vile endurance, from the tenth to the thirty-fifth degree of latitude; whilst his revenues exceeded thirty millions sterling at an era, and in a country, when and where the productions of the earth were three times as cheap as they are now in England. His name retains a conspicuous place in the annals of prosperous crime, and human folly. The imprisonment of his father, and murder of his brothers, had opened for him a blood-stained road to whatever an infatuated world calls valuable and magnificent: yet on the verge of eternity, he is said to have anticipated a hell of horrors; avowing that wherever he looked, 'he beheld nothing

but an avenging divinity.' The Mahrattas exacted fierce retribution from his descendants. Their chief Sambajee, having fallen into his hands, suffered inhuman torments from the emperor, who insisted upon a conversion to Islamism. In vain was the tongue of the idolater torn from his throat, and his heart cut out of his bosom. A legacy of revenge and disaster proved the miserable result. Aurungzebe died in 1707; and the successor of Sambajee first shook the throne of the Moguls. Before 1740, these Mahrattas had overrun all the territories between the Western ocean and Orissa, and from Agra to the Carnatic: being a tract of one thousand miles long, and seven hundred wide! They had also obtained authority from Delhi to collect the Chout, or the fourth part of the net imperial revenues, excepting those of Bengal. Their capital was Sattarah: but on the decease of Sahojee, the Peishwah, or vicegerent, resided at Poonah,—the Bukshi, or commander-in-chief, at Nagpoor in Berar,—Scindiah in part of the province of Malwa,—Holkar at Indore in the same province,—and Futtu Sing, generally called the Guicowar, in Guzerat. The Concan was also a portion of their possessions, under certain feudatories.

The future governors of India appeared to the orientals as having hardly grown out of their gristle. Vasco di Gama had sailed round the Cape of Good Hope; and his countrymen were therefore among the first to reap the golden harvest. Sultan Bahauder, who reigned in Malwa and Guzerat in the sixteenth century, granted the sea-port of Diu to the Portuguese, in consideration of their aiding him against Humaioon the son of Baber. The English had also entered the field of commerce and enterprise. Their projects to discover a north-east and north-west passage, exercised and formed some noble navigators for forty years, from 1527 to 1567. In 1582, and 1596, voyages were vainly attempted by that Cape, which is now only a link of the mighty chain, which binds Bengal and Madras to Great Britain. Yet in 1577, Sir Francis Drake had reached them, by going round Cape Horn; and nine years afterwards, Cavendish did the same through the Straits of Magellan. The capture in 1593 of two Indiamen from Lisbon, one of sixteen hundred tons burden, whetted the appetite of Queen Elizabeth's subjects; for both prizes were laden with spices, calicoes, silks, gold, drugs, pearls, ebony, porcelain, and ivory. She accordingly chartered an Incorporation in A.D. 1600, under the title of 'The Governor and Company of London Merchants trading to the East Indies.' Its capital of £30,133. 6s. 8d., was managed by a Committee of fifteen, the prototypes of a Court of Directors: and in eight successive voyages, profits were realized of from one to two hundred per cent. The charter was for fifteen years;—and under the condition, that if not found advantageous to the country, it might be

annulled after a couple of years previous notice ! James renewed it in 1609 ; when the Company was constituted a Body Corporate *for ever* : yet still providing, with felicitous inconsistency, that on experience of prejudice to the nation, its exclusive privileges should, after three years notice, cease and determine. Their primary establishments were made in 1611 and 1612, at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambaya, and Goza, upon stipulations, that they should pay duties of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on their merchandise to the Great Mogul ; whose Phirmaun, confirming their commercial arrangements, bears date the 11th of January, 1612. Akbar had died in 1605 ; and his vast inheritance was now subdivided, under the supreme authority of his successor, into the fifteen Soubahs or Viceroyalties of Allahabad, Agra, Oude, Ajimere, Guzerat, Bahar, Bengal, Delhi, Caubul, Lahore, Moulton, Malwa, Berar, Candeish, and Ahmednuggur. These in fact constituted so many satrapies, comprehending indeed the diversified tribes of one nation, yet fettered by a system of caste, and courting the hands of a ravisher. In all eastern empires, except that of China, the elements of disunion are constantly overcoming those of coherence ; and will probably continue to do so, until European stableness shall have thoroughly engrafted itself upon Asiatic pliancy. In 1614, Sir Thomas Roe undertook an embassy from James the First to Shah Jehan ; for the Portuguese, through pride and ill conduct, had embroiled themselves with the Imperial court, and attacked our settlements. Sir Thomas succeeded in his object, and concluded a treaty on behalf of the British Company ; giving them moreover this piece of advice, ' That they should seek no 'profit but at sea, and in the way of quiet private trade ; since to 'affect the support of garrisons and land wars in India would undoubtedly prove injurious.' Sagacious counsel no doubt, could it have been acted upon : but the violence of the Portuguese, Dutch, and Spaniards, in combination with other circumstances, compelled the English to fortify their factories, as well as to have troops for their protection. It was in these defensive and necessary operations, that the rudiments of future power, and prosperous aggression, came to be gradually developed. The capital employed by the London merchants had encreased to £429,000, raised by a sort of arbitrary subscription. Four voyages, from 1612 to 1616, averaged $87\frac{1}{2}$ per centum as profit ; and in 1617-8, the second joint stock subscription amounted to £1,600,000 sterling. There were now thirty-six vessels in full employment, from 100 to a 1000 tons burden. Their principal marts were at Surat, and Bantam in Java.

In some respects the Mogul empire might be compared to that of the Byzantines, when Genoa, Pisa, and Venice, contended for supremacy from the Euxine to Egypt, utterly regardless of the Roman representative at Constantinople. Struggles throughout

the East, for somewhat similar objects, occurred between the subjects of Great Britain, Holland, and Portugal, in the seventeenth century. Our countrymen found formidable rivals in the Dutch; whilst they easily overcame the Portuguese at Ormus, in 1622, in conjunction with Persia. This augmented their fame, and elevated their hopes. James and Buckingham exacted £80,000 from the Stadtholder in 1619, for compensation money; a prelude to the horrible transactions at Amboyna. The honour of Dutchmen was ever said to lie at the bottom of their pockets; and their agents retaliated with a vengeance. Rage at home knew no limits, when tidings reached London of what had been done: yet, in looking back upon the affair, we should not forget that torture was then by no means banished even from our own judiciary. The Company administered it to their own servants; and to adopt a cotemporaneous description, 'deserters were 'scourged out of this world into the next,' (that is flogged to death,) with small compunction. The perpetrators of such occasional enormities were already entrusted with the exercise of martial law, and projected a settlement at Tanjore. This brought them into collision with the hardy Dane: yet they established a factory at Armagum. Bantam was reduced to an agency dependent upon Surat. The reflecting reader will not fail to remark the growth of their ambition, as the commercial horizon opened. It first publicly appeared in 1627, that their obligations exceeded their receipts by £200,000, notwithstanding their pretended profits; so that their stock fell twenty per cent.: and as 'lying 'always rides upon debt's back,' they commenced a series of attempts to delude both the government and the nation. Mystery, in nine instances out of ten, may be set down to the account of iniquity. They assured the crown, after the fashion of all such innocents, that there never before was worth or virtue comparable to theirs. They employed seamen and exported goods, for which their present returns were reproaches and losses. The former they attributed to popular ingratitude; the latter, to every cause except the true one,—their own manifest mismanagement. Holland still continued their successful competitor with regard to all solid advantages. Her thrifty sons sold European commodities cheaper, and purchased Indian productions dearer. Their larger capital, and greater economy enabled them to do so: hence they had the choice of every market abroad, and could obtain more remunerating prices at home, from the superiority of their wares. The crisis between Amsterdam and the Thames had not yet arrived. Meanwhile, the London merchants formed a third joint stock, and extended their communications along the eastern coast of Hindostan. A factory, which had been abandoned at Masulipatam, was revived; certain privileges were obtained from the Rajah of Golconda; permission was given by the Mogul to trade

in Orissa; Bantam again became a presidency, with the eastern coast under its jurisdiction, as the western was under that of Surat; and a share in the Malabar pepper-trade was secured. But now in England came the harbinger of civil war in a general and just outcry against monopolies of all descriptions. From 1640, when Madras was first settled, to 1653-4 when it was erected into a presidency, confusion prevailed throughout the Company's affairs. While Cromwell, or rather Blake, enjoyed a triumph over the Dutch in the channel, they were beating the British on the Coromandel shore. Happily for our countrymen, a surgeon, named Boughton, obtained about this time, from the Court at Delhi very extensive exemptions and favours for the English factories in Bengal. Some ideas, however, of free trade, which began to emerge upon the public understanding, hid their diminished heads amidst the loyalism and folly consequent on the Restoration. Charles the Second granted his East India Company a new charter, on the 3rd of April, 1661; confirming their ancient immunities, investing them with powers to make peace or declare war with any prince or people; and permitting them to seize unlicensed persons within their limits, and deport them to England. Rights of administering justice were simultaneously added to complete their influence as colonial governors. The possession of five hundred pounds stock also qualified its holder to vote at the India House. Lord Marlborough then went out to Bombay with a body of troops; but the king finding more trouble than emolument from his nuptial dowry, handed it over to the Company in 1668, 'to be held in free and common soccage, 'as of the manor of East Greenwich, on paying a rent of £10 'sterling per annum!' The presidency of Surat was afterwards removed thither; and in 1687, while Bombay was elevated to a regency, Madras was formed into a corporation under a mayor and aldermen!

The salaries, however, of these magnates do not appear to have been very startling. Sir George Oxenden, as President of Surat, rejoiced in no larger emoluments than a stipend of £300 per annum; together with £200 more, as his compensation for private trade. Most exaggerated notions still continued to be entertained respecting oriental commerce. Every clerk, merchant, writer, or supercargo, was to return a sort of Sindbad the Sailor! Sir Joshua Child, one of the Directors, published extraordinary statements on the subject, which the late James Mill used severely to contrast with a work by De Witt on the Fisheries of Holland. Covetousness cut capers at the very imagination of an El Dorado. France caught the infection, and gaped for ingots and pagodas; but her ignorance of the simplest commercial principles rendered her a harmless rival, until a much later period. The British Company, nevertheless, reeled in difficulties during 1674; although its

growing interests in Bengal demanded a separate agency, and intercourse with China was commencing. In 1676-7, they ordered a quantity of tea on account, to the value of one hundred dollars! It is curious and not unprofitable to observe these *parva cunabula rerum*. Our annual demand for that single article now exceeds four millions of pounds sterling. Yet if a century and half ago, their traffic with Canton appeared thus trifling, it is also lamentable to perceive, that the sum total of honesty in Leadenhall-street was about as small. The Court of Directors coolly recommended all manner of trickery and temporary expedients in dealing with the Tartar Khan, the mighty Mogul, or his subordinate rajahs. Discretionary powers were transmitted for the employment of armed vessels, to enforce the observation of treaties, or exact fresh concessions; thus reserving the means of shifting from themselves the responsibility of attack, in case disputes should arise between ministers at Delhi and the Company, by throwing the entire blame upon the errors of their servants. Who will hereafter believe that a policy so frightfully Machiavelian once found fervid apologists in this country? It has been justified on the grounds of a rival Company being now launched; and from a war breaking out between the king of Bantam and his son; in which the Dutch sided with the latter, the English with the former. We ultimately lost Bantam; its factory being removed to Fort St. George at Madras. The old Company were not long in obtaining an Admiralty jurisdiction. Their authority over their countrymen in India was in fact nothing less than absolute. Over the natives, within the presidential boundaries, their administration weighed heavier than ever. The expense of maintaining these narrow territories exceeded their revenues. If the Company diminished taxation, their representatives suffered: whenever the latter enriched themselves, it was from the marrow of the Hindoos. One wave of confusion rolled in upon another; and every thing would have gone to pieces, had other nations been more able or honest than themselves. The English settlements, acquired by purchase in Bengal, through a grandson of Aurungzebe, toward the close of the seventeenth century, were the villages of Soota Nutty, Calcutta, and Govindpore, on which ground, the metropolitan city now stands. The fort, erected for its protection, received its denomination from his Majesty, King William the Third; in whose reign the House of Commons had nobly declared, 'That it was the right of all Englishmen to trade to every quarter of the globe, unless prohibited by Act of Parliament.' Under the auspices of his successor, and Lord Godolphin, the old and new Companies, after trying to ruin each other by their acrimonious contention, were at length united. Their entire capital stock amounted to two millions sterling: and the general body of proprietors elected twenty-four of their mem-

bers, each possessed of £2,000 stock to be a governing executive. In 1715, Calcutta was declared an independant presidency. Jaffier Khan, Nabob of Bengal, and afterwards of Bahar and Orissa, hated the intruders. He never failed to thwart their progress upon all possible occasions; although in vain. We already begin to hear of his extortion on the one hand; and the purchase of thirty-eight more towns by the Company, on the other. Their guards also become more and more active, either in protecting the factories, improving the banks of the Hooghly, opening roads into the interior, acting as police, or now and then engaging in the quarrels of neighbouring Zemindars. Ever and anon, the London Directors, grown more prudent from experience, or being better men than their predecessors, sent out line upon line, and precept upon precept, against the acquisition of new territories. Yet so it was, that all such exhortations or mandates addressed themselves to an ambition, or perhaps a necessity, which had no ears. The power of Great Britain in India seemed to emulate the Banyan. Every stem shot up into a solid trunk; every branch struck another root into the earth; trees multiplied into forests; until their foliage overshadowed the land. The feudatories of the Mogul lost rapidly their sense of subjection, after the death of Aurungzebe. They fancied themselves independent despots; and learned to act accordingly. In 1740, the Subahdar of the Deccan, jealous of his neighbour in Bengal, called in the Mahrattas to collect the Chout or tribute. Such an irruption was of course to be guarded against by the English Company. They dug round their domains the famous ditch of seven miles in extent, still bearing the name of its occasion. Additional troops, ammunition, and artillery, bristled along the puny frontiers; while the respect paid to our military prowess completed another arch of the causeway, which conducted us to the throne of Delhi.

There had occurred, moreover, a previous revolution, of which, although the immediate effects more nearly concerned the capital than the provinces, yet its ultimate result extended throughout all India. Mahmoud, having seated himself on the musnud of the Moguls, confided every species of public business to his nobles and ministers. These officers gave mortal offence to the same Subahdar of the Deccan, who subsequently invoked the Mahrattas. He, in revenge, played the common part of an exasperated traitor; and beckoned Nadir Shah, from beyond the Indus, to lay waste Hindostan. That conqueror, answering to his signal, marched at the head of an army inured to devastation, with the appetite of vultures, and the temper of tigers, through fire and blood to the metropolis. It is affirmed, that in different districts, one hundred thousand victims glutted his scimitars, upon one and the same day. Every individual, whose appearance

rendered it probable, that he was acquainted with concealed treasures, was subjected to the most terrible tortures. A dervise presented himself to the victor, and said: 'Invincible Shah, if thou art a god, show thy resemblance to the deity, by clemency;—if thou art a prophet, declare unto us the way of salvation;—if thou art a king, put us not to death, but reign over us, and make us happy.' Nadir Shah replied: 'I am not a god that I should forgive,—nor a prophet that I should teach,—nor your king, that I should reign over you: but I am he, whom the Almighty commissions in his wrath to punish the nations of the earth.' And fearfully was the mission of this modern Sennacherib fulfilled. The carnage consequent on his invasion, and the enormous booty, with which he withdrew into Caubul, so exhausted the Mongolian empire, that it seemed little else than a stranded wreck from that moment. Plunderers from distant and opposite quarters scented the spoil and gathered round it: nor did the mutations of affairs in Europe exercise an inconsiderable influence upon our oriental presidencies.

The Silesian wars had produced that union between France and Spain, which at last drew Great Britain into the vortex. Few were aware how busily the French had been engaged in endeavouring to learn practical wisdom, and establish some hold upon the nabobs and omrahs of India. Hostilities commenced between their forces and those of the English, along the Coromandel coast, in 1746. Labourdonnais, a self-educated but most able man, captured Madras, which was restored by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; leaving, however, the sparks of the political conflagration unextinguished. Two remarkable persons were about to develop their abilities on the theatre of the Carnatic, each representing his peculiar government,—Dupleix and Clive. The family of a chief named Sadutullah had managed with success, for three or four generations, very extensive territories, from the Circars to Travancore. Their feudal investment had been received from the Grand Mogul, until his sceptre was broken for all efficient purposes. The Subahdar of the Deccan claimed the right of nomination, when strong enough to set at nought the court of Delhi: besides which, a kind of hereditary descent, something like Tanistry, prevailed just so long as the reigning race remained too firmly seated to be moved, either by the emperor, or the subahdar. Rival claimants at this time existed, both for the viceroyalty of the Deccan, and the nabobship of the Carnatic. The French and English espoused opposite sides, as might be expected. Active operations ensued, in which the genius of Clive shone out with wonderful lustre, and marked him for a man of mighty deeds. Trichinopoly became the theatre of the greatest bloodshed: but the pacification of 1754 illustrated the siege of Arcot, and consolidated the supremacy of the British

East India Company. The subsequent seven years war only confirmed the former defeat of Dupleix, and the dissipation of his splendid schemes. The four Northern Circars were surrendered to his opponents; the reinforcements of Count Lally wasted away; Pondicherry was taken in 1761; and by the 5th of April in that year, his employers had not a single military post in India. The English lost no time in making hay, while they thought the sun shone. The new nabob, entirely owing his elevation to the Company, could look for nothing beyond the pageantry of nominal sway, or at least the smallest possible portion of vice-regal power. His loving allies, on their part, perceiving that the defence of his territories must principally rest with them, considered themselves entitled to the lion's share of its resources. They had supplied the sinews of the contest,—money, powder, troops,—and the talents, which had combined all in one triumphant campaign after another, on his especial behalf: he was now therefore to pay the stipulated price, and assuage the thirst of Mammon. The result was what it usually is in such conflicts of interest and selfishness. Each strove with might and main to make the best of the bargain: but it was a realization of the old parable, as to the iron and earthen vessels floating down the stream in copartnership;—the strength of England dashed in pieces its fragile colleague. Troubles in the Mysore, about 1767, augmented the aggravation. That state had aspired to independence, upon the downfall of the kingdoms in the Deccan. According to Hindoo custom its nominal master was a Rajah; its real one, any active energetic minister, who could exercise upon a weak mind the sorcery of intellect, and become both lord and jailer to his sovereign. Such a magician was Hyder Ali; whose son and successor afterwards threatened to be towards the British, what Mithridates had been to the Romans.

Clive had transferred his name and exploits to the nobler regions of Bengal. Ally Verdy Khan, having procured a grant of that province from Delhi, dethroned the reigning subahdar or nabob; and bequeathed his dominions, after a rather vigorous administration, to Suraja Dowla, the son of his youngest nephew. This chief looked with an evil eye upon the merchant-princes, his English neighbours. He quickly blew up a quarrel; assaulted and captured Calcutta; and perpetrated the horrors of the black hole,—more through autocratic carelessness, as has since been demonstrated, than premeditated cruelty. Colonel Clive soon reversed the order of affairs, and extorted at the cannon's mouth, full restitution of the British possessions, with large usury for recent usurpations. Feeling, moreover, that the French at Chandernagore had instigated the nabob, he resolved to expel them from the country. This he did in perfection, as to all appearance of power. Suraja Dowla looked quietly on, with

the apathy of oriental thoughtlessness, while those who could alone coalesce with himself, in case of danger, had their claws cut, and their teeth drawn. His own turn came next. Clive reflected, that the re-establishment of the Company must always be an object of abhorrence to the nabob; and since both natives and Mahomedans groaned under his tyranny, it was but going one step further, to unite with the oppressed, so as to present them with another sovereign. This was accordingly done. Suraja Dowla was condemned to deposition, *per fas aut nefas*: the mind of Clive very rarely oscillated between conviction and irresolution: he advanced with his army forthwith; fought the memorable battle of Plassey, on the 23rd of June, 1757; seated an intruder, Meer Jaffier Ally Khan on the musnud; and then made obeisance before him, as lord of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa. We have neither space nor inclination to pourtray the shifting intrigues, which led to the putting down one puppet, and setting up another. Whoever might be prince of the pageant for the time being, became such, through a scale of extravagant concession exceeding that of his predecessor: and the solitary certainty remained, that the heads of the factory, at Calcutta, grew daily more ambitious, more rapacious, and more irresistible, after every fresh sacrifice. They retained the effective force of the entire country in their own hands. None could peep or mutter against them; and much less act with any impunity. Each shadow of royalty, as they suffered it to glide across the scene, shook a gory finger at the waning glories of Delhi. The conqueror of Plassey undoubtedly tore away the sceptre of India, and laid it at the feet of the far-off mistress of the seas. The final assignment of the Dewannee, or collection of the revenues, by the descendant of Tamerlane to the Company, rendered both the nabob and the emperor, mere pensioners upon British bounty. Clive's services were rewarded with an Irish peerage, and a munificent Jaghire, producing £30,000 per annum. He had saved Arcot; captured Madras; annihilated the pirate Angria; recovered Calcutta; and suppressed a mutiny, which menaced for an interval all the brilliant results of his career. His abilities and prowess secured for his countrymen nearly a third of the dominions and influence, which they now enjoy; from the banks of the Caramnassa, to the extreme coast of Coromandel.

Mr. Verelst succeeded Lord Clive, on the return of the latter to England; and the Directors, in the following year, communicated to the council at their chief presidency, certain sentiments upon recent advices from Bengal. They enjoined their servants, 'Not to increase the revenues by any way, which might oppress the inhabitants, whose happiness and prosperity they were desirous of cultivating; as upon public respect, affection, and confidence, the permanency of English power would greatly depend.

‘They were never to extend their possessions, beyond the present bounds: never to engage in a march to Delhi, nor enter into offensive hostilities, unless urged to them in pursuance of treaties; and whenever obliged to employ troops for such purposes, to have Allahabad, Chunar, or some similar fortification previously secured: besides insisting upon the command in the field being invested in one of their own officers.’ With these reasonable views, and suggestions, were blended others not less so: such as to prevent Europeans, as much as possible, from engaging in the service of unfriendly native princes; watchfulness against cannon, and warlike stores, finding their way up the Ganges; and the extension of commerce rather than territory, by every means within their reach.

Under the administrations of Verelst and Cartier, from 1767 to 1772, there are no striking circumstances to record, except that while the Company wore externally the air of emperors, their finances were approaching a state of bankruptcy. One of our most philosophic observers has well described the nature of these difficulties, and the real share which Lord Clive had in producing them. In fact, all is not gold that glitters. That nobleman, amidst the grandeur of his success, seemed to seek more for immediate effect, than for substantial advantages. He preferred, in other terms, splendour to durability. A double government, conducted in name by the nabob, in reality by the Company, was his favourite project. Yet surely this was little else than a system of clumsy and crooked artifices. It could impose upon no one; whilst it justly incurred the punishment due to chicanery and imposture. The fraud involved an amount of mischief, sufficient to exclude the chances of an honest administration; without, however, enriching the conjurors carrying it on; or sparing the people they thus vainly attempted to delude. Neither the nabob, nor his officers dare exert any authority towards English traders, of whatsoever injustice or oppression they might be guilty. The Gomastahs, or native agents employed by the Company, not merely practised a tyranny that had no limits; but they also converted the tribunals of justice into instruments of cruelty, by wielding decisions unrighteously obtained within-doors, against the victims of their rapacity without. The ancient modes and usages of society were paralyzed: the new ones had no other object, than the highwayman’s pistol and salutation. Beyond the former boundaries of the presidency, the Governor-General had no legal authority over the Hindoos; nor were the English themselves amenable to the laws of their own land. Deportation remained the sole remedy; but it could never be applied upon an adequate scale. The natural consequences followed in the ruin or utter prostration of all classes. Revenues depend upon the productive operations of a people; and that people will perma-

nently produce in due proportion to its share in the rewards of labour. Hence the Company beheld their exchequer descending into the lowest stages of consumption; as the evil went forward, working itself worse and worse. The gorgeousness of palaces only concealed the wretchedness of prisons: nor were other sources of calamity closed up. The powers of the nominal ruler were placed in actual commission, if not in abeyance, by confidential residents being appointed to watch and control them at the Durbar: yet these agents from their circumstances, could at any time appropriate treasure, or receive bribes; and if dismissed for it, (their utmost penalty,) leave their posts for new comers, with larger appetites, equal opportunities, and greater temptations. 'Another, and that the most pernicious of all the errors, into which Clive exerted himself to mislead the Company, was the belief he created, that India overflowed with riches,—the expectations he raised, and on which his credulous employers so fondly relied, that a torrent of opulence was about to fall into their laps. In political affairs, it is long before even experience teaches wisdom.*' Temporary relief was sought for by borrowing. The servants of the Company, made individually opulent at its expense, willingly advanced their fortunes, for bills payable in England. The funds to meet these, were the investments on account of the Company; but the investments did not increase in proportion to the bills, because the money, in consideration of which they had been granted, was expended in carrying on government, and not in the purchase of goods. The charges of sovereignty more than absorbed the profits of merchandise; and pride threw dust in their eyes, to prevent them from discerning the worm of exhaustion at the root of their prosperity. Then instead of investigating the matter, the Directors acted like the wise men of Gotham. They endeavoured to lessen the disaster, by limiting the sum, for which bills might be drawn upon them; so that private persons found themselves compelled to forward their fortunes to Europe, through the French and Dutch Companies, who traded with the moneys thus lent to them, and realized immense returns. Our sages in London puzzled their brains to solve a riddle, which, under any other circumstances, they would have dismissed the humblest clerk for not comprehending. The victors of Bengal, and their foreign rivals, whom they had trampled, as they thought, into vassals at their feet, stood out in the strange contrast of the lean and fat-fleshed kine of Pharaoh. They failed to see in this particular instance, that the man who borrows to spend, and the man who borrows to traffic, are in totally different situations. Every quack in Leadenhall-street,

* Mill. Hist. Ind. vol. ii. pp. 258—260.

proposed his nostrum, from tampering with the currency, or circumscribing bills, or more singular than all,—raising their dividend from six to ten, and even twelve and a half per cent, whilst their milstone of embarrassment was rapidly growing into a mountain! At length the juggle exploded; and in 1773, the Company, supplicating assistance, laid their affairs before Lord North, and the House of Commons.

Now came the Regulating Act of 1774, by which a Governor-General was nominated, and a supreme court of judicature created. Warren Hastings was to carry out the new plan, the first of a series of measures, which transferred the sovereignty of the Company to the crown of Great Britain. We have much pleasure in presenting the reader with an extract from our author:

‘The administration of Mr. Hastings, although not distinguished by those brilliant achievements, which marked the course of the noble founder of the British Empire in India, forms an epoch in the history of the Company and his country, to which great interest must always attach, whether viewed in connexion with those eminent names, that stand prominent amidst the principal actors in the chequered and trying scenes, which so rapidly followed each other abroad, or with the state of parties at home, to whom the affairs of that country and the conduct of the Company’s servants presented such fertile ground for political differences: those differences being carried to such extremities as to lead our revered monarch to contemplate the possibility of even leaving England.

‘Few public servants have been placed in more trying positions than Warren Hastings. The very commencement of his government was marked by instructions of a character repugnant to his feelings, and which placed him before the British public in a questionable light. The parties selected for his councillors had their minds pre-possessed with the unfavourable view, that had been formed at home regarding the conduct of the Company’s servants. Their opposition to Hastings was systematic and uncompromising. He endured with unshaken firmness a series of personal attacks, that partook of a virulence, equalled only by the subsequent conduct of his still more powerful enemy, in the origin and progress of the celebrated impeachment.

‘The lengthened period, of thirteen years, during which he presided over affairs in India, may be designated as one of experimental legislation. Measures devised by parliament with a view of securing the rights, and happiness of the people, failed of the desired effect, from having been framed in ignorance of the laws, customs, and usages of the people, to whom they were applied. The embarrassments consequent upon such a state of affairs naturally followed, until the jarring elements of a discordant system constrained the legislature to enter upon a general revision.’—Vol. I., pp. 689—691.

Touching the grand discussions of 1783–4, Mr. Auber re-

marks, that although the East India Company had been incorporated nearly two centuries, it was during the last ten years only, that parliament had interfered for the regulation of their affairs. Within that brief period, a regular government had been established; the receipt of presents had been prohibited; the rate of interest had been defined; rules and ordinances had been ordained; justices of the peace had been appointed; appeals had been provided for to the king in council; his majesty had authority to disapprove of dispatches from the court of Directors to India; the jurisdiction of the supreme court had been settled; and the natives secured, perhaps with too much delicacy, in the enjoyment of their own opinions and habits. The provision essentially wanted was a central controlling power, competent to give effect to measures determined upon by the sovereign, his parliament, and the courts of directors and proprietors. The fate of the Bill proposed by Charles James Fox is well known. It bore the impress of his energetic talents; but seems rather the production of an advocate crammed for the occasion, than of a legislator to whom India was meat and drink; or who had meditated upon it, as Turgot would have done, until the matter had become transubstantiated into his mind. William Pitt, by his measure, accomplished covertly, what his great rival had attempted to do openly. His Board of Control was to all other authorities what the rod of Aaron was to the serpents of the Egyptian magicians. It escaped the opposition so fatal to Mr. Fox, because the age was short-sighted. Men were led by names, and scared by hobgoblins: and Mr. Pitt had the unquestionable merit of having so accurately gauged the public intelligence, that he could tell to a hair just how much it would endure. Neither must it be forgotten, that one man may steal a horse; whilst another shall be transported for looking over the hedge. The supreme administration and patronage of India, including a large portion of legislative as well as executive authority, was by the successful minister annexed to the crown; by the unsuccessful one, to seven commissioners, who, though in the sequel to be appointed by the crown, could be dismissed only by an address from either House of Parliament. Macpherson filled the chair left vacant by Warren Hastings, at Calcutta; and, in September, 1786, Lord Cornwallis entered upon his high office, uniting in his own person the civil and military supremacy; and enabled also to act on his own responsibility in opposition even to a majority of the council.

There never was a functionary more thoroughly imbued with benevolent intentions than the new Governor-General. Had his talents, judgment, and opportunities been commensurate with his philanthropy, he might have proved a Washington in Hindostan. In alliance with the Nizam of the Deccan, and the Mahrattas, he

smote the Mysorean sultan, after a protracted struggle, under the very walls of Seringapatam; and deprived him of half his dominions. The boundaries of the Peishwah were extended to the Tomboodra; those of the Nizam from the Kistnah to beyond the Pennar: the Company acquired the Malabar coast, a district on the Western frontier of the Carnatic, and another in the neighbourhood of Dindigul. He also, in 1792, concluded a treaty with Mahomed Ali, the nabob of the Carnatic; by which the masque of British occupation was not a little removed; and the road opened for the complete appropriation of the country at some future day. Mahomed Ali, representing that his resources were inadequate to the demands made upon him, consented that all his fortresses should be garrisoned by the troops of the Company; and that in the event of a war, they and he were to change places, one-fifth of the nett revenues being paid him. But Lord Cornwallis will be principally remembered in India, by the revolution he effected in the judicial and fiscal systems. The basis of change, in the latter more particularly, was an acknowledgment of the Zemindar, as hereditary proprietor of the soil which he rented, subject to a land-tax, the annual amount of which, though fixed at first for ten years, was in 1793 declared a perpetual settlement. It was hoped by our disinterested Tories, that a landed aristocracy,—the ignoblest curse, except personal slavery, that the political box of Pandora contains, would thus be inflicted upon Bengal. Several transit duties were abolished; but the monopolies of salt and opium were continued. No failure could be more disastrous, than that of the project now before us. The amiable Governor-General merely acted as he had been taught, under a bigoted though virtuous monarch, in a generation of rampant conservatism; with a horror moreover of liberal institutions, thundered into his ears, by the never-to-be-forgotten artillery of Yorktown! The radical defect in his plan was the absence of any sort of consideration for the Ryot, or common labourer. Subalterns, formed in the school of William Pitt, never condescended to learn the impossibility of eating the plum-cake and keeping it too. It has always been enough for them that upper classes should be cherished, as wolves in pastoral garb of the flock committed to their charge: yet they have never clearly comprehended, that unless the sheep are really taken care of, there will soon cease to be either purple for their own raiment, or delicious feeding for their fare. It cannot be too often reiterated, that public prosperity depends upon the solid amount of comfort enjoyed by the many, and not upon the aggrandizement of the few. So simple and elementary a truth being lost sight of, the whole land was made desolate. 'Its nobles sent 'their little ones to the pits, and found no water: they returned 'with their vessels empty: they were ashamed and confounded,

‘and covered their heads.’ This pathetic picture of the prophet was realized from Benares to Madras, and the Sunderbunds. It has been proved, as we think satisfactorily, that with regard to proprietorship, the Zemindar was merely the supreme revenue officer of a district, paid by an average commission of about ten per cent. on the sums he collected. He was also invested with the powers of police and administration of justice.* But the sovereign of Hindostan had been the recognized owner of the soil, from ages immemorial; and in the place of that sovereign stood the East India Company. Their sacrifice of admitted rights would have been laudable, had it only occurred in the proper quarter. ‘The relation of a zemindar to government, and of ‘a ryot to a zemindar, was neither that of a proprietor nor a ‘vassal, but a compound of both. The former performed acts of ‘authority unconnected with proprietary right; the latter had ‘rights without real property: while the property of the one and ‘the rights of the other were in a great measure held at discre- ‘tion.’ The leading feature of the new system was professedly to secure the people from the exactions of their masters: an object which could never be achieved so long as magistrates and tax-gatherers were the same persons. Lord Cornwallis, therefore, separated their respective duties, and assigned them to distinct officers. The cognizance of fiscal causes was also transferred to a court composed of Europeans, with natives to expound, or rather to mystify, the laws and customs in each district. To the provincial judges he likewise entrusted criminal jurisdiction; and the business of police was provided for, by confiding a tract of 400 square miles to a Hindoo chief constable, bearing the title of Dudogah, with a retinue of armed followers. In connexion with topographical divisions, we may just mention that a certain number of organized villages formed a Pergunnah; a certain number of these, about equal to one of our counties, was called a Chuckla; of these a certain number and extent constituted a Circar; and several Circars were a Soubah, or Vice-royalty.

Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, followed the Marquis Cornwallis, and evinced himself a warm friend to the views and policy of his predecessor. He settled the affairs of Oude with remarkable ability; applying his attention not merely to the finances, but also superintending most beneficial changes as to the nominal executive of that kingdom. If amidst constant revolutions among the native potentates, he perhaps carried his

* History of British India, by James Mill, Esq., as compared with two able articles on that work in the British Review. Nos. xxiii. and xxiv., August and November, 1818. Baldwin and Co.

own pacific disposition a trifle too far, in allowing the Mahrattas to encroach upon the Nizam, the splendid administration of Lord Mornington, soon created Marquis Wellesley, retrieved the error, and profited by it in the end. Lord Wellesley reached Calcutta in May, 1798. Having penetrated the intentions of Tippoo Sahib to coalesce with the French against Great Britain, he happily baffled all, by resolving upon immediate war. Nothing else could have thwarted a series of secret machinations, which, as was subsequently proved, would have evolved incalculable calamities. General Harris assaulted the metropolis of the Mysore, on the 4th of May. Advantage was taken of the glowing hours of noon to surprise the besieged. The Sultan defended himself with the ferocious gallantry of his father, and died bravely in the breach,—by far the most deadly foe our oriental influence ever had to encounter. His dominions underwent a division between the Company and the Nizam. The Governor-general enjoyed the singular fortune of having a younger brother in the army, destined to be greater than himself. Colonel Arthur Wellesley, the future hero of Waterloo, gathered his earliest laurels in the East Indies. Meanwhile the plan was acted out of depriving the dependent princes of their possessions, and leaving them the mere name of ruler, with a pension from the Anglo-Indian Exchequer. The despots of Surat, Tanjore, and Furuckabad on the Ganges, were thus ground down into expensive phantoms, after the fashion of the mediatized petty sovereigns of Germany. The entire Carnatic shared the same fate, upon evidence, sufficiently sound as to its being a step necessary for our interests: though it must be admitted, that if one hand of the arbiter grasped the balances of equity, the other was upon the hilt of his sword. Nor did a fairer lot await the Vizier at Lucknow. He was compelled to disband his own troops, and confide for defence altogether to British forces; for the support of which, more than a moiety of his territories formed a cession to his dictators. Persuasion and the fear of consequences subdued the Nizam to a similar surrender; so far as excluding the French, and entrusting himself to subsidiary battalions stationed within his boundaries. So acted the Romans of old with respect to their Syrian acquisitions: suffering royal tributaries for a time to hold the reins, at the beck and guidance of a Prætor; until, opportunity permitting the fusion to be completed, Jerusalem or Antioch fell into the ranks of the empire, as much as Naples or Marseilles. And now came on the great Mahratta contest with the Peishwah, Scindiah, Holkar, and the Rajah of Berar. Brilliant victories ensued. The Dooab, a rich region between the Ganges and Jumna, seemed the most important of our prizes. Adding these to the Cuttack country, which connects the Circars with Bengal, it plainly appeared that slight apprehensions need henceforward be entertained about

further perils from Poonah, Sattarah, or Hyderabad. The relief derived by a philanthropist, in glancing at the scene of triumph, will flow mainly from a consideration, that many millions were rescued from the yoke of sanguinary despotisms, and transferred to a better government. British sway may not always have been what it ought: but there can be no comparison between it and a native pagan autocracy. The former must be a paradise in the parallel. If this be remembered, and admitted, the corollary that our security in India should be maintained, will be admitted also. Sir George Colebrooke well observes on the capture of Seringapatam in May, 1799, that 'It has often been a question, how far it is consistent with good policy, more nearly to connect ourselves with the politics of the country, as tending to involve us in war. That must no longer be a question. The empire of the East is at our feet. We have gained and must hold it by the sword: we must either support the commanding ground our conquests and treaties have given us; or we must relinquish the hope of maintaining it to advantage.' Major Munro, in the following year, remarks to Colonel Wellesley: 'I confess for my own part, that as we have thought it necessary to appear in India as sovereigns, I think we ought to avail ourselves not of the distresses of our neighbours, but of their aggressions, to strengthen ourselves, and place ourselves in such a situation, as may be likely to prevent such attacks hereafter.' He had maintained the same opinions before: 'Men read books, and because they find all warlike nations have had their downfall, they declaim against conquest as not only dangerous, but unprofitable; but there are times and situations, where conquest not only brings a revenue greatly beyond its expenses, but brings also additional security. Let us advance to the Kistnah, we shall triple our revenue; our barrier will then be both stronger and shorter. The discussions and revolutions of the native governments will point out the time when it is proper for us to become actors; that is, as we presume he means, when it could be done with justice. While the power of Tippoo exists, we shall be perpetually in danger of losing what we have. Nothing can be more absurd than our regarding any of the native governments as powers which are to last for ages. It would not be surprising if all of them were to cease in the course of thirty years!'

How nearly this prediction of Sir Thomas Munro has received its accomplishment is obvious; nor should it be forgotten, that whilst a future Governor-General, the Marquis Hastings, had, as Lord Rawdon, publicly opposed the Wellesley policy, he nevertheless, when called upon to govern Hindostan, acknowledged to the Court of Directors, the inexpressible tendency of our India power to enlarge its bounds, and to augment its preponderance, in spite of the most peremptory injunctions of forbearance from

‘home, and of the most scrupulous obedience to them in the ‘government abroad.’ He entered upon hostilities with Nepaul, from no other motives than those which had actuated Lord Wellesley on analogous occasions. Victory enabled him to deprive his enemies of the Kemaon with its capital Almorah; besides placing the entire domains from the Jumna to the Sutlej under British superintendence. The Peishwah, the Guicowar, Holkar, the Rajahs of Berar and Sawuntwarree had to surrender Saugor, Huttah, Darwar, Poonah, and the southern Mahratta country, the Ahmedabad Farm, Kandeish, the districts on the Nerbuddah, Sumbhulpoor, Patna, and the Concans; besides Beejapoor and Ahmednuggur, wrenched from the Nizam, as well as Ajimeer in Rajahpootana from Dowlut Rao Scindiah. The last named chieftain was no ordinary person. His family emerged into notice from being simple cultivators. Ranojee was the first, who became a soldier; and then taken into the service of the Peishwah, his employment was to look after his master’s slippers. His advancement is said to have arisen from his being discovered one day, asleep on his back, with the objects of his office clasped closely to his breast. Such extreme carefulness, in so lowly a vocation, struck the Prince of the Mahrattas, who appointed him forthwith to some post in the body guards. Full of ambition, and love of enterprize, he carved out noble fortunes for himself and his posterity: one of whom was the personage opposed to Lords Wellesley and Hastings:

‘Born and educated at a distance from the Deccan, surrounded by Europeans, Mahomedans, and Rajahpoots, and despising the irregular and predatory hordes, whose activity and enterprise had established the fame of his ancestors, to which Rao or Row Scindiah was more the principal sovereign of India, than a member of the Mahratta confederacy, when at the age of only thirteen years, he succeeded to his great uncle’s vast possessions, and to the command of an army that rendered him the arbiter of the Mahratta empire. The war undertaken by these chiefs against the Nizam, in 1795, formed a temporary bond of union, but the campaign was shortly terminated by great sacrifices of territory and treasure, under the treaty of Kurdlah, secured by scenes of art, treachery, and intrigue, which led to the subsequent commotions in the Mahratta states.’—Vol. II., pp. 277, 278.

He engaged with unbounded activity and animosity against the Company in their war with the Pindarries; who are thus described by our author:

‘In January, 1816, large bodies of them had appeared on the northern banks of the Kistnah, with the supposed intention of making inroads in the territories subject to Madras. The rapidity with which these barbarians moved was scarcely to be believed; a circumstance,

which, coupled with the still more extraordinary intelligence they possessed, baffled all attempts to intercept their retreat.

‘The difficulty of obtaining any information regarding these marauders was greatly enhanced by the fear which their depredations had infused among the people. Their success increased the natural ferocity of their manners; devastation, violation, and death being the horrid concomitants of their route. To escape the misery attendant upon their irruptions, families assembled together, and the torch was applied to the destruction of their habitations, in which they themselves perished, rather than fall a prey to the intolerable scourge of such ruthless barbarians.’—*Ib.*, pp. 516, 517.

The duplicity of Scindiah, with regard to them appears thoroughly oriental. When he feared the forces assembled by the Marquis Hastings, he pretended to acquiesce in certain propositions made him, for assisting to extirpate his own allies, but,

‘During these negotiations, two messengers, conveying letters from his Durbar to the court of Catmandoo, were arrested. Waxen impressions of Scindiah’s great seal were discovered to be in their possession, and likewise letters concealed between leaves glued together of a Sanscrit book in their charge. The open letters and covers were subsequently sent to the resident at Catmandoo; who was instructed not to make known the fact to the Durbar there, but to watch its proceedings while the sealed letters were to be delivered publicly to Scindiah, merely apprising him of the manner in which they had come into our hands. These orders were ably executed by Captain Close, Scindiah not attempting any exculpation.’—*Ib.*, p. 522.

It was difficult to bind such a Proteus with any treaty; yet one was concluded with him on the 5th of Nov., 1817:

‘The Governor-General having taken the field, and the central division of the grand army being assembled at Secunderabad, information was given to Scindiah of the intentions of the British government; and a note was delivered to him in October, remonstrating with him for having harboured the freebooters. Discussions took place, which terminated in a treaty on the 5th of November: it was ratified by Scindiah on the day following; he engaged to afford every facility to the British troops in their pursuit of the Pindarries, through his territories, and to co-operate actively towards their extinction. He was to furnish five thousand auxiliary horse for the service of the campaign, and his country and troops were to be regarded as those of an ally.’

—p. 536.

The Marquis of Hastings now wrote again to the directors, remarking that their pecuniary advantages must solely rest upon the consolidation, and probably the enlargement of our oriental possessions: ‘It was by the preponderance of power that those mines of wealth had been acquired for their treasury; and by

‘preponderance of power alone could they be retained. The supposition that the British could discard the means of strength, and yet enjoy the fruits of it, was one that would be certainly and speedily dissipated: in the state of India, were we to be feeble, our rule would be a dream, and a very short one.’ Lord Amherst came to no different conclusions. Burmah had scourged a race of savages, with the hideous denomination of Mhugs. Several hordes of fugitives from among them wasted the frontiers of the Company. Troublesome negotiations ensued with the monarch of Ava, partly on their behalf, and partly with regard to certain demands for compensation. Shortly after Lord Amherst had reached Calcutta, the Burmese made a nocturnal attack on the island of Shapooree, on the coast of Arracan. They drove away our soldiers from the place, and thus violently possessed themselves of a British station. There can be no doubt, but that impunity would have emboldened the aggressor, and humbled our arms in the sight or estimation of all Hindostan. No time was therefore to be lost: a steam vessel forced her voyage up the Irrawaddy; Sir Archibald Campbell entered Prome; some rather severe actions occurred; and the golden-footed emperor, as he delights to call himself, ceded Assam, Arracan, Tavoi, Ye, and Tenessarim, together with a crore of rupees, in money, as the price of his tremendous folly. Singapore and Malacca had been obtained a year or two before from the Dutch; so that nearly the whole Bay of Bengal now acknowledges our authority.

In the early part of 1825, during operations against the Burmese, the attention of the Bengal government was attracted towards procedures at Bhurtpore, which terminated in its siege and capture by storm on the 18th of January, 1826. Its reduction assumed a character of immense importance, from an impression generally entertained among the natives, that it was invulnerable, or at least impregnable. This was owing to the celebrated defence it had made one and twenty years before, when besieged by Lord Lake in 1805. Bishop Heber bears testimony to the opinion prevalent even throughout the Carnatic, that it would prove the rallying point of India, in recovering her independence. The circumference of the town and fortress was above eight miles: to carry them was to trample in the dust the last talisman of the Mogul empire over popular sentiment. One of the ramparts had received the name of the Bastion of Victory; its walls were styled, in the boastful language of their defenders, Eternal; and when tidings spread that they had actually fallen, the sensation is said to have been unparalleled. We therefore extract the following description, with much pleasure, more especially as it conveys a fair idea of our author’s best manner and abilities:

‘Early in the morning of the 18th, the troops destined for the

assault established themselves in the advanced trenches, unperceived by the enemy. At eight o'clock a mine was exploded with terrific effect; which was to be the signal for attack. The whole of the salient angle, and part of the stone cavalier in the rear, were lifted up into the air, which for some time was in total darkness: but from the mine having exploded in an unexpected direction, or from the troops having been stationed, in consequence of miscalculation, too near it, the ejected stones, and masses of earth, killed in their fall several men of the regiment at the head of the column of attack, and severely wounded three officers. They fell so thickly about Lord Combermere himself, that Brigadier General Mc Combe, who was standing next to him was knocked down, and two sepoys, who were within a few feet of him, were killed on the spot. The troops immediately mounted to the assault, with the greatest order and steadiness, and notwithstanding a determined opposition, carried the breaches. The left was the more difficult of the two; the ascent was very steep, but the troops pressed on, and quickly surmounted it, the grenadiers moving up it slowly and resolutely, without yet drawing a trigger in return for the volleys of round shot, grape, and musketry, which were fired upon them. Some of the foremost of the enemy defended the breach for a few minutes, with great resolution; but as the explosion of the mine had blown up three hundred of their companions, they were soon compelled to give way, and were pursued along the ramparts. Whenever they came to a gun, which they could move, they turned it upon their pursuers; but they were immediately killed by the grenadiers, and the gun upset. In two hours, the whole rampart surrounding the town, although bravely defended at every gateway and bastion, along with the command of the gates of the citadel, were in possession of the besiegers, and early in the afternoon, the citadel itself surrendered. The loss of the enemy could not be computed at less than four thousand killed; and owing to the disposition of the cavalry, hardly a man bearing arms escaped. Thus, as by the surrender of the town, all the stores, arms, and ammunition, fell into the hands of the victor, the whole military power of the Bhurtpore state might be considered as annihilated. The fortifications were demolished; the principal bastions and parts of several curtains, were blown up on the 6th of February; it being left to the rains to complete the ruin.'

—Vol. II., pp. 590, 593.

Lord William Bentinck closed the grand chapter of conquest, by seizing the Coorg country, and its ferocious Rajah; who had perpetrated such atrocious murders amongst his relations, that he now remained the solitary survivor of his family. This wretch may serve as a sample of the native princes; and having long been neither more nor less than the Ishmael of the Mysore, it was determined to subject his province to the absorbing rule of Great Britain. In fact our political supremacy had been satisfactorily settled in 1827; when Lord Amherst made a formal announcement of its completion to the titular Mogul at Delhi.

Yet the sketch, thus offered to the reader, will be defective, without a brief retrospect at the recently granted Charter. By it, the territorial government of Hindostan, is continued nominally to the Company; but their commercial functions remain in total abeyance, during their administration of affairs. That administration, we need hardly add, is thoroughly under the check of the Board of Control; which has obtained the power of sending direct orders to the Presidencies, without consent from the Directors, and without their having even an appeal against its decisions. Hence, what the ambition of the Company has so often said and done to others, has now happened to itself:

Mutato nomine de te fabula narratur !

In one word, the Company is a mere intervening machinery whereby the Crown of Great Britain governs its East Indian territories. Sir John Hobhouse is Secretary to her Majesty Queen Victoria for Bengal and its dependancies. The trade with China has been thrown open to the nation at large; a measure, which ought by this time to have ruined those who availed themselves of it, according to the prognostications of the Quarterly Review a few years ago. The disingenuousness of Toryism in taking credit for not openly opposing what had clearly become inevitable, may be numbered with its other eminent virtues; although such is the popular disposition in some points to forget, as well as to forgive, that the memory of the public requires every now and then not a little refreshment. The abolition of the Tea-monopoly alone has proved equivalent to a reduction in taxation to the extent of two millions' sterling per annum. A surrender has also been made on the part of the Directors to the Crown, of all assets commercial and territorial, in lieu of which an annuity is now paid them of £630,000 in the character of a Joint-Stock Association; the same being equal to a dividend of ten and a half per cent on their capital. At the end of forty years, if Government please, this annuity may be paid off at the rate of £100 for every five guineas. The ministerial plan met at first with a reception from the proprietors, very like that clamour which occurs, when receivers of stolen goods are called upon to deliver by the officers of justice: yet nevertheless when it was evident that a plain answer must be returned, the ballot in Leadenhall Street decided for acquiescence by a majority of 477 against 52! Our author cannot forbear offering these pertinent though respectful observations:

‘ Thus, notwithstanding the claims put forth to commercial property of the value of twenty-one millions' sterling, and to territorial possessions, forts, and factories, with as good a title as that by which any property is held, only one month intervened between the announcement

of the proposed scheme to the proprietors, and its adoption with some (slight) modifications, with only fifty-two dissentients out of five hundred and twenty-nine votes : the latter number being scarcely a fourth part of the proprietors as a body, and little beyond a third part of the number who have voted in favour of a candidate for the direction !'

—ib., p. 693.

Our interests in Hindostan extend over an area of nearly twelve hundred thousand square miles, and from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and forty millions of people. About eighty millions of these are our immediate fellow-subjects; the remainder are tributaries or dependent allies. In the vast Presidency of Bengal, Hindoos and Mahometans are governed upon the principles of the Islamic law; but in that of Madras and Bombay, each by their own laws respectively. Instead, however, of cruel punishments, such as mutilation, and the like, imprisonment or some other substitute, as analogous as may be to our own more merciful and civilized notions, has been adopted. The military and marine forces vary from 220,000 to 250,000 in number; of which, with the exception of 37,000 infantry, artillery, and cavalry, the mass consists of native troops, or sepoys, commanded by European officers. The annual charges of the civil, military, and marine services, amount to about £18,546,917; and the interest upon the territorial debt of nearly forty millions sterling comes to £2,139,117 more; making the total expenses £20,686,034 per annum. The annual revenues are about £21,695,207; so that there is a considerable excess of income over expenditure. Our three presidencies are productive in very unequal proportions. Bengal returns five millions and a quarter more revenue than is disbursed within its own provinces. As to Madras, the outgoings and incomings are about equal; while at Bombay, the charges exceed its revenues fifty per cent; the former being £3,600,841, and the latter £2,421,443 ! So startling a fact is not of the consequence which it may at first appear to be; since both Madras and Bombay, together with Agra and all central India, are subordinate to the Governor-General and his Council at Calcutta. He in fact rules over ninety-four provinces, including the Prince of Wales's Island, but not Ceylon; the last having for many years been a mere pasture for patronage to the Colonial Office. Reform, nevertheless, has forced its way thither. British subjects may now become proprietors of land, and exercise their skill and industry there, as well as in India; a privilege, however, only conceded by the late Charter. Trial by jury has been successfully introduced; purveyance and monopolies are abolished; and the Taprobana of the ancients is no longer an absolute disgrace to its modern sovereigns.

We have now to consider, in the narrow space left us, a few of the improvements, which we may be the instruments of commu-

nicating to the East; and we shall glance at them summarily under the three heads of politics,—social ameliorations,—and religion.

Our Indian empire has always struck us as likely, in the lapse of years, to exercise incalculable influence upon Lahore, Burmah, and Siam, Thibet and China, as well as upon the oriental Archipelago. Persia may possibly become the prey of Russia; who may also be the first to unlock the Blue Chamber of the Pacific Ocean, and let in daylight upon Japan. But with regard to the other enumerated nations, Great Britain may be, under infinitely better auspices, what Crete and Ionia were, many centuries before Christ, to the Mediterranean world. Already our outposts touch upon the Chinese or Thibetian frontier; while growing intercourse with Canton must sooner or later penetrate, if it does not overthrow, the walls of exclusiveness and separation. Let the Company promote, and not repress every project, which fairly conduces to such a result. The curious voyage and researches of Gutzlaff demonstrate that much more might be done, than the authorities seem at present disposed to countenance. Commerce, acting upon selfishness, will gradually overcome one restriction after another; until men every where acknowledge the reasonableness, and act upon it, of buying wherever they can buy cheapest, and selling wherever they can sell dearest. Its multiplying ramifications will thus open channels for nobler merchandise than human art can supply or offer. The divine and almighty Alchemist, turning every thing he deigns to touch into gold, will compel even the passions of avarice and ambition to make the rough places plain for the advancement of his purposes. It is said that more than two millions of Chinese are scattered up and down the harbours of that vast range of islands extending from Malacca to New Holland. Through their means, by a liberal policy, our manufactures and habits may raise the level of civilization, and pour the horn of plenty upon shores overwhelmed in vice, destitution, and degradation. Steam may work, and is indeed effecting wonders. Our author has devoted several pages to the subject; and when monthly mails shall pass as matters of course from Bombay to London; when intercommunications shall have become regular, as well as frequent, between Calcutta, Canton, and along the north-eastern coasts to the Amoor, or as much further as the Siberian Bear will permit,—there will then be an amount of temporal enjoyment dispensed, such as makes the heart of a philanthropist bound within him at its contemplation. In one word our external policy in these regions must be to maintain peace,—improve trade,—to set an example of firm, just, and faithful dealing,—and impress the natives with right notions as to our national integrity as well as our power; as to our desire of ameliorating their circumstances as well as augmenting the sources

of our own mercantile opulence. In an opposite direction, we shall rejoice to see the views of Lieutenant Burnes carried out; and a line of traffic opened up the Indus to Attock,—thence by portages to the Oxus,—and down that noble yet neglected river to Bokhara, and into Central Asia.

The Ganges is now ascended by steamers for pacific purposes, as the Irrawaddy was in the Burmese contest, for warlike ones. This brings us to mention a few social ameliorations, which we are bound in common justice to confer at least upon Hindostan. Facilities of transport should be fostered to the uttermost; for whatever tends to annihilate distance, tends also to diminish prejudices. Roads, and posts, with cheap public conveyances, will do more towards melting down the numerous tribes of India into one prosperous people, than meddling orders from the directors, or expensive regulations at Calcutta. Economy ought to be a main matter with our Anglo-Indian government. The fiscal system still remains an Augean stable of abominations; nor will any Hercules, we fear, short of the Schoolmaster, be ever able to cleanse it. In Bengal, the land-tax is for the most part fixed in perpetuity; but there exist two Mammoths of monopoly in the shape of salt and opium. In Madras and Bombay, the culture of that vile poppy is forbidden: but all prohibitions of the sort are in their very nature absurd and preposterous. The monopoly of salt exists also in Madras, together with one of tobacco inflicted upon two large provinces. Export, import, transit, and town duties are levied upon different principles, and at different rates, under the three presidencies; nor does the first, second, or even third payment always exempt the merchant, if his goods are conveyed from one territory to another. Let Prussia teach us the folly, not to say the iniquities of such anomalies. Retrenchment moreover should be urged forward unsparingly, through every civil department; especially amongst legal functionaries. Specimens only can be given of the profuseness which has hitherto prevailed. Each Judge of the Company costs India, directly or indirectly, upwards of £88,000, upon an average, including his education at Haileybury College, his salary for fifteen years' services, and his retiring pension! This is about twenty per cent. more than the expense of a Crown Judge of the highest class, and sixty per cent. more than the lowest, under the same circumstances. The difference is pure, or rather impure, extravagance. Under the government of Madras, with a remarkably litigious population of thirteen millions and a half, the total amount of property under litigation, in both native and European Courts, was valued in 1818, at £453,833; while the judicial charges amounted at the same time to £350,000; of which the salaries of the British judges alone absorbed £260,000! It is clear that the Hindoos should be encouraged to aspire to all civil offices,—

the nomination of course being with the local, and responsible authorities; since they must be the best qualified to decide as to the capability or incapacity of parties. Yet instead of this obvious and rational mode of procedure, enormous and unnecessary sums are squandered upon a certain privileged class, sent out by the Directors to smoke cigars and inflame their livers, through the cycle of their official term; at the conclusion of which, having hoarded what they can in the land of their exile, they fly home upon the wings of a fortune, to spend it at Bath or Cheltenham. How can the Lords of India look for either respect or affection from the millions of their subjects? After all that has been said or written respecting the apathy and laziness of the natives, they still remain the principal medium of oral and professional intercourse: for according to the evidence adduced before a parliamentary committee, 'seven-eighths of the administration of justice 'is virtually conducted by them.' Sir Henry Strachey maintains, that if they were well paid, and so raised in their own estimation, they would be fit for any employment in India; and he afterwards explains, that what he means by good and adequate pay is 'one-tenth of what is at present received by the civil functionaries' of the Company! Improvements judiciously carried out, in these respects, avoiding precipitancy, but cherishing reformation, would enable us to reduce Indian taxation,—relieve industry,—call out slumbering usefulness,—strengthen the framework of society,—and yet relieve its pressure. A consolidation of numerous public establishments, kept up as to their number, for mere purposes of patronage and ostentation, would augment in many instances their efficiency, and extinguish not a few pecuniary grievances.

As to the system of law, the historian of India, more than twenty years ago, pointed out a scheme for their revision and codification; namely, the appointment of a council of five persons, whose chief business should be that of legislating for Hindoostan. He would have it consist of the Governor-General, a professional lawyer, an European, and a native of extensive local knowledge, besides one other individual 'thoroughly versed in the philosophy 'of man and government.' As matters are, we strongly suspect, nothing can be more deplorable. We perceive how large a proportion of judicial duties is performed by native officials; and English magistrates are notoriously in the hands of the inferior agents in their own courts. 'To administer justice civil and 'criminal, primary, and appellate to eighty millions of people, 'there are three hundred judicial functionaries of all grades, many 'of whom, however, are charged, at the same time, with the administration of the revenues, and almost all of them with that of 'the police and magistracy.' The laws are generally administered in the Persian tongue; a dead language, as it would seem to all parties. Consequent delay is enormous. In Bengal alone,

in 1819, the arrear of causes was eighty-one thousand; and in 1829, one hundred and forty thousand!

The coinage has also been pointed out by a shrewd observer as calling loudly for amendment. Each presidency has its own; and Bengal possesses two: while three out of the four have not only different impressions, but different values. Strange, moreover, to say, 'the coinage of one government is not current in the territories of another; being only bullion; so that it must be put into the melting-pot. Again, the civil establishments at Calcutta are paid in one denomination of money, the military in a second, and the general accounts are kept in a third; all differing from each other in value very materially. Notwithstanding a seignorage of two per cent. a heavy loss is annually sustained by the mints; which, for 1829 — 1830, was stated in the public accounts at £44,285; not including buildings, or wear and tear of machinery. One of the Bengal mints cost £200,000 sterling; and that of Bombay has scarcely been less expensive.* The entire mint charges seem to be about £120,000, with jobs and sinecures in due proportion. It should never fade from the memory of a patriotic statesman, that with regard to India, Great Britain is neither more nor less than a guardian or trustee for a minor, whose estates are held by military tenure indeed; but of which an account must one day be given even in the present world. Nations in their collective character will have no existence at the last grand assize. They will then dissolve into individuals. Hence their tribunal is in time; not in eternity. And whoever may doubt the scheme of literal rewards and punishments, dispensed among them by an unerring arbiter, let him read as he runs, the history of Spain and Portugal; whose tyranny in Peru, Mexico, and the Brazils, has been visited before our own eyes, with visible and retributive vengeance. Doubtless there is a God that judgeth the earth; and continuance in courses of injustice, upon a scale so approaching the sublime in magnitude, that we almost lose a proper sense of its hideousness, will bring down the wrath of the Most High, as upon Babylon of old, or Palmyra the queen of the desert, or Tyre and Zidon, or any other once celebrated merchant-princes, whose memorials have now passed away like the chaff of the summer threshing-floor. For such reasons, we take even the low ground of self-interest, as the foundation of strong and earnest appeal to our fellow-countrymen, that they may prepare India for better things; for an enjoyment at some future day, however distant, of our political privileges,—of those institutions, which are beginning to take root in Ceylon,—and which, when transplanted to her own shores,

* Westminster Review, No. xxxvii. July, 1833.

will remunerate her for any amount of wrongs, inflicted upon her since the battle of Plassey.

But this brings us to the final point, which we undertook to touch upon,—our obligations and responsibilities in the East, as to the Christian Religion. No sane person will deny, that here we have incurred guiltiness as a nation, in the very highest degree. Let us prostrate ourselves in the dust and ashes of humiliation; and then rise to make up for our past remissness by future strenuous exertion. The reproach of Edmund Burke can, through mercy, no longer apply to us, that were our empire to be swept away to-morrow, there would remain no traces of it in Hindoostan, beyond the footsteps of the tiger in his jungle! The names of Henry Martyn, and Carey, and Ward, and Marshman, and Brown, and Buchanan, with others of whom the time would fail us to tell, have withdrawn the sting of the stigma; though that is, alas! *all*. The mighty and overwhelming duty of doing what ought to be done has been only commenced:—in its vastness, it now calls for its accomplishment. In dealing as governors with the superstitions of the natives, we feel as averse to any invasion of the rights of conscience as we are opposed to that mawkish sensitiveness, with regard to pagan abominations, which has been until lately, and is even now, the besetting sin of our Indian rulers. The curious part of the whole affair is, that most of those who then filled our high places, both at home and abroad, had no hesitation about upholding in the British parliament an antiquated system of oppression and persecution, as it respected Christian Dissenters; while they were as tender of the Suttee in Bengal, amongst the heathen, as though, in denouncing it, one had touched the apple of their eye. The truth is, that a real regard for the rights of conscience had nothing to do with the matter. Worldly men acted upon secular principles, at the bottom of which selfishness lies concealed like a serpent. Apprehensions for their own interests, in a heathen land, were a little too gross to be publicly adduced in opposition to the dictates of Scripture; so they endeavoured to conceal their actual motives under the froth of latitudinarian professions. Not less than three hundred and ten instances of women burning themselves upon the funeral piles of their husbands occurred in 1819. When Lord William Bentinck had the honour of abolishing this practice in 1828, some complaints undoubtedly were made by certain Hindoos on the one hand; but it is equally clear, that there were numerous Hindoo congratulations on the other. An affecting instance of repugnance to the observance of the Suttee, in a female of high rank, is adduced by our author from the testimony of Sir John Malcolm; as long ago as 1793:

‘Ahalya Bae had lost her only son. Her remaining child, a

daughter, was married, and had one son, who died at Mhysir. His father died twelve months afterwards. His widow immediately declared her resolution to burn with the corpse of her husband. Her mother and her sovereign left no effort untried, short of coercion, to induce her to abandon her fatal resolution. She humbled herself to the dust before her, and entreated her as she revered her God, not to leave her desolate and alone upon earth. Her daughter, although affectionate, was calm and decided. 'You are old, mother,' she said, 'and a few years will end your pious life. My only child and husband are gone, and when you follow, life I feel will be insupportable; but the opportunity of terminating it with *honour* will then have passed by.' The mother, when she found all dissuasion unavailing, determined to witness the last dreadful scene. She walked in the procession, and stood near the pile, supported by two Brahmins, who held her arms. Although obviously suffering great agony of mind, she remained tolerably firm, until the first blaze of the flame made her lose all self-command; and while her shrieks increased the noise made by the exulting shouts of the immense multitude that stood around, she was seen to gnaw in anguish those hands she could not liberate from the persons by whom she was held. After some convulsive efforts, she so far recovered as to join in the ceremony of bathing in the Nerbuddah, when the bodies were consumed. She then retired to her palace, where for three days, having taken hardly any sustenance, she remained so absorbed in grief, that she never uttered a word. When recovered from this state, she seemed to find consolation in building a beautiful monument to the memory of those she lamented.'—vol. ii. pp. 612, 613.

It is but common justice to annex the remarks of Lord William Bentinck, and our author, upon the toleration of idolatry, and the education of the natives: the former observes,

'There prevail throughout India, as in the darkest ages of European history, the same ignorance and superstition, the same belief in witchcraft, the same confidence in charms and incantations, the same faith in astrology and omens, the practice of human immolation of all ages and sexes, and many other barbarous customs, opposed to true happiness, and repugnant to the best feelings that providence has planted in the human breast: and it is by the gradual operation of European influence over the immense mass of native population, that their barbarous, and often cruel and idolatrous customs, can be eradicated, and supplanted by domestic comfort, security of person and property, and advancement in education and morals.

Mr. Auber then adds:

'It is satisfactory to know, that neither the original measure abolishing Suttee, nor the virtual confirmation of it by the rejection of the appeal to the privy council, produced any want of confidence, or the least degree of alarm, on the part of the Hindoo population. As edu-

cation advances, and the British power is still further extended, and becomes more firmly fixed, the question of how far we are to tolerate idolatry in India, will press itself more strongly upon the consideration of the governing power. Where religious rites and offices are not flagrantly opposed to the rules of common humanity or decency, they may, from our position in India, demand toleration, however false the creed by which they are sanctioned. Such concession in no degree exceeds that which is extended to doubtful creeds in the united kingdom. But toleration and protection must go hand in hand in India, or the safety of the individuals engaged in the celebration of their rites, however absurd or much to be lamented, would not be provided for. Such toleration, however, in no way enjoins a participation, or assistance in such worship, so as to identify the British authorities in the eyes of the people, with it.——‘ Lord William Bentinck watched, with anxious solicitude, the education of the natives: the reports sent home in the course of the year gave the most promising accounts of the progress made in the acquisition of the English language. According to the testimony of Mr. Bird, of the civil service, the desire to learn the English language was extending universally at the principal stations in the Mofussil. There was no religious prejudice against it, while, by giving complete access to European ideas and sentiments, it has the strongest testimony to weaken the prejudices of the natives against the other branches of education given at the government institutions. The English class at the Madrissa had furnished well qualified members for the station of vakeels at the several courts, as well as for that of law officers in the native courts: and there were three thousand youths studying the English language at Calcutta.’—vol. ii. pp. 612, 614.

These are delightful tidings, and none can hail with greater pleasure than ourselves, every thing that may be done in the way of national native education. Our complaint is that hitherto our efforts in this way have been so thoroughly trifling. In 1813, the annual expenses disbursed for the purpose were no more than £5000: Parliament then enacted that they should be doubled in future; and yet for eleven years afterwards down to 1824, they only averaged from £7000 to £8000 per annum. For the last eighteen years £273,522 has been expended; or at the rate of from £8000 to £17,000 annually, little more than three-fifths of the Governor-General’s salary, to say nothing of perquisites or allowances. What we should do, is,—to retrench needless expenditure, so as to employ half a million or a million sterling in each twelvemonth, for the next quarter of a century; covering the entire peninsula with a net-work of electric wires, in the form of well organized schools, so as to communicate moral and intellectual light and life, from Calcutta downwards. Direct religious instruction, just at first, might be out of the question, except in those cases where some profession of Christianity had already been made. But the ability would be im-

parted to read our scriptures: and the taste might be inclined that way without adopting measures either of coercion or interference. Simultaneously with this scheme, translations of the Old and New Testaments should be got ready upon something like an adequate scale; avoiding of course, every thing in preparing or publishing them, which would occasion needless alarm. Missionaries of all orthodox denominations should be countenanced, instead of being often discouraged; and the unhappy error, fallen into by the introduction of a religious establishment, should be amended, with the least possible delay. The recent and most painful circumstances which have occurred in the Tinnevely station, under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society, must have sounded a trumpet of alarm, in the ears of Episcopalians themselves, as to the momentous nature of the evil. Moral, intellectual, and religious education ought to be offered to all upon equal terms, without reference to any peculiarities of speculative sentiment: but this is just what we can never get an establishment to do. Government, we venture to think, is bound by the most solemn obligation to provide that knowledge, 'which to be without is not good;' and even to obtrude it upon the minds of the young, without difference or partiality, in the same way that proper food and medicine must be found for and pressed upon them, when such supplies can be procured from no other quarter; that so they may grow up to maturity, and become themselves responsible moral agents. But it is the very character of a religious establishment, as we see in India, at this instant, to make differences and manifest partialities. It usurps a right to impose instruction of its own selection upon that part of the community which has grown out of its nonage, and is able to choose for itself. Injustice, therefore, may be seen written on its forehead, look at it from whatever point you will; and its glances in return are from a green eye, with a cast in it! With its soul, as well as body in this world, it loudly talks, and does little more, as to another. Like the semipetrified monarch in the 'Arabian Nights,' it is only half alive; a mass of marble from the feet to the waist; immovable and unfeeling, in the midst of an enchanted palace,—where the stateliness of its grandeur is producing the loneliness of a desert. We respect highly the character and talents of the present Bishop of Calcutta. As the pastor of his own clergy, on ordinary occasions, he reminds us of his zealous and sacred ministrations at St. John's, in Bedford Row. But when he assumes the language and bearing of a prelate; when his charges are in the teeth of what St. Peter denounces, by 'lording it over God's 'heritage,'—he seems a Cyprian of the third century; possessing indeed the piety, yet not without the manifold infirmities of that ancient Father.

We have only one more suggestion to offer; and that is, that

stated prayer-meetings should be held throughout all churches, both at home and abroad, imploring the influences of the Holy Spirit upon India, more especially. There, the heathen are our fellow-subjects; a portion and an immense one, of our own civil and political household; they have claims upon our sympathies and exertions therefore *above*, although, of course, not to the exclusion of others. Glorious, indeed, will be the day, when this wilderness shall have become in a spiritual sense, as the garden of the Lord: when this stronghold of the kingdom of darkness shall be subdued under the banner of the Lamb. The poet of the Crusaders has told us, that when their standard floated over Mount Sion, the whole air and face of nature felt revived at the glories of its presence:

La Vincitrice insegna in mille giri
 Alteramente si rivolge intorno:
 E par ch'en lei più riverenti spiri
 L'aura, e che splendida in lei più chiaro il giorno
 Ch' ogni dardo, ogni stral, che'n lei si tiri,
 O la declini, o faccia indi ritorno:

But to trample under foot the superstition and might of mythology,—to effect a breach in those ramparts where for so many ages the seat of Satan has been undisturbed,—to plant the cross not merely upon the pagodas of Hindoostan, but within the heart of its inhabitants, will realize a nobler triumph than even the imagination of a Tasso could conceive, or a Godfrey of Bouillon accomplish.

We feel satisfied that our excellent author will concur in what has been said. We owe him our best thanks for his able and most useful production now before us. He has supplied a desideratum which perhaps few could have supplied so well. Mr. Mill's great work, upon the same subject, comprised three ponderous quarto volumes, well worth their weight in gold; but from that very circumstance, not always attractive to the general reader. Moreover it brings the history down no further than 1805; and consisting of considerably more than two thousand pages, can never be universally familiar to any but real students. Mr. Auber's two octavos are replete with information; elegantly yet perspicuously written; carefully arranged; pleasant both to the eye and the mind; and, at once pregnant with sound sense, and the best moral feelings. There are three maps, two of which are coloured, to show at a glance the progress of British conquests: and yet the retail price of the book is not permitted to exceed a guinea. We cordially desire for it, what we think it will obtain, an extensive circulation. It is a refreshment in the present day to fall in with a gentleman like Mr. Auber, who possesses so complete a mastery over what he professes to describe; and is so perfectly free from all manner of affectation.

Art. II. *On the Law of Christ respecting Civil Obedience, especially in the Payment of Tribute ; with an Appendix of Notes and Documents,* By JOHN BROWN, D.D. Edinburgh : Paterson. 1838.

IN reviewing these lectures, it is necessary to make our readers acquainted with the *Edinburgh Annuity Tax*, in certain proceedings connected with which they have had their origin. Indeed this subject has claims of its own to general notice ; forming, as it does, a very remarkable episode in the ecclesiastical history of the North, and containing, as in an epitome, a curious and instructive specimen of the principles and the working of a civil establishment of religion.

This tax is of considerably ancient origin, having been first imposed in the year 1633, by a process of legislation not exactly accordant with modern usage. From the period of the Reformation, the clergy of Edinburgh had been supported, partly by voluntary contributions, and partly by certain property which had been taken from the Catholic, and granted to the Protestant church. Charles the First, following out, as he alleged, the intentions of his father, recommended the Town Council of Edinburgh to raise the stipend of the clergy by a tax on the inhabitants ; the council prepared an act for this purpose, which they transferred to parliament for its sanction ; and by parliament it was referred to the privy council, with full warrant to decree and enforce it, which that body accordingly did. The first form in which the tax appeared, was the appointment of a particular sum (£666. 13s. 4d.) to be levied on inhabited houses according to the rental, and divided among the ministers. At this period, it is to be remarked, episcopacy was established in Scotland ; so that the tax by which the Presbyterians of Edinburgh are at present supported, originated in the suggestion of the Royal Martyr for Episcopacy, moving the town council of Edinburgh, and by them the parliament and the privy council, to endow, not a Presbyterian, but an Episcopalian clergy. Had Charles foreboded the ultimate destination of the tax, there is no doubt this offspring of his royal brain had never seen the light. Nevertheless, there are statements in this Act, intended to justify the measure, scarcely to be expected in those times of rigor, and placing the support of the clergy on a basis, to which, (the employment of civil force excepted) the most ardent friend of the voluntary principle in our own days, could not object. The following is the preamble of the act : ‘ For sae meikle (forasmuch) as there is nothing more ‘ consonant to equitie and reason than that all such persons that ‘ daily enjoy in plentie that blessing of the word of God, and ‘ hearest the same preached, and does participeit the benefit of the ‘ clergy ; should contribute to the maintenance of the minister,

‘in these places where they take the foresaid benefit.’ Very well, truly, for the Episcopalians under the Stuart dynasty; and better still, if the enlightened Episcopalians and Presbyterians in the days of Alexandrina Victoria would learn, that it is not equity or reason that such persons as do not participate the benefit of the clergy, and do not hear the word from their lips, should be compelled by legal authority to contribute to their maintenance.

From this period to 1661, the tax underwent various changes, by successive acts of parliament. In 1639, episcopacy was overthrown, and presbytery prevailed; the former again triumphing with the restoration of Charles the Second, in 1660. Under these changes the Annuity Tax was enjoyed by the dominant party for the time being; and in 1661, when it was assigned by law to the Episcopalians, it received that form in which it continued during the next one hundred and fifty years. By this settlement a *tax of six per cent.* on the rental of all houses within the city was appointed to be levied for the support of *six ministers*, the rest of the clergy to be supported from the other funds of the burgh; and the magistrates were empowered, in their judicial character, to see that this act should be carried into execution, and ‘should doe all things necessary to that effect; and letters of ‘horning, and all other executionalls necessary, are ordained to ‘be direct upon this act.’ Such was the coarse machinery by the inharmonious operation of which the salaries of the clergy of the Scottish metropolis were supplied during this long period—the Episcopalians enjoying them from the Restoration to the Revolution, and the Presbyterians afterwards.

Our readers will perceive that as the city of Edinburgh enlarged in its dimensions, and in the size and splendour of the mansions of its inhabitants, the amount of the Annuity Tax must have increased proportionally. It did so. Unproductive at first of the sum needful for the comfortable maintenance of six clergymen, it soon yielded more than the magistrates thought proper to grant them.

There is a peculiarity in the application of the ecclesiastical revenues of Scotland. The law does not provide that these shall be wholly engrossed by the clergy, but only that a *reasonable support* shall be assigned to them from these revenues, by the civil court competent to make such allocation. These and the parochial tiends (tithes) are not all enjoyed by the clergy. The court of tiends (the court of session sitting under this denomination) assigns from the parochial tiend what it deems a competent salary to the clerical incumbent; and, at this day, the tiend which the court might call up, if necessary, but which is still unappropriated to the clergy, amounts to nearly as large a sum as that which they enjoy. On this principle, the magistrates and council of Edinburgh, as the Annuity Tax became progressively productive,

paid, not the whole of it, to the clergy, but only such a sum as they judged sufficient for their support, or as was agreed upon betwixt themselves and the clergy; and applied the residue to the common objects of municipal expenditure. There is only one other Scottish town in which the clergy are supported by a local tax, the town of Montrose. There, also, the increase of the town augmented the productiveness of the tax; when the magistrates, in place of appropriating its surplus to the purposes of the burgh, reduced the rate of the impost. This measure offended the ministers of Montrose, who brought the case before the court of session, claiming that the vote should not be reduced, and that its whole amount should be theirs, without deduction. The court decided firmly in favour of the magistrates, finding that the ministers were not entitled to the whole amount of the unreduced tax, but only to such a salary from that source as was judged sufficient for their comfortable subsistence. Had the magistrates of Edinburgh wished to spare the pockets of the inhabitants, or, perhaps, acted in the spirit of the law of Scotland in such matters, they would have followed the example of their brethren in Montrose; but, being less thrifty than these frugal northerners, and very zealous for the Athenian splendour of their beautiful city, they retained the tax at the full amount which Charles had appointed, and usage had confirmed, and applied the surplus in the way we have stated.

But, in 1809, a new era arrived in the history of this metropolitan impost. Previously to this date, the limits of the Edinburgh *royalty* (the city) had been extended at various periods, by acts of the legislature obtained for this purpose, and the right to levy the annuity and other local taxes had been co-extended with the advancing limits of the urban territory. In 1809, parliament was to be applied to for a fresh extension of this royalty, the city being at that period in a state of rapid increase. Now was the chance of the clergy; and now, also, was the chance of the council—of the clergy, to grasp an accession to their wealth, from this fresh field of taxation which opened on their view—and of the council to gather laurels for themselves, by adding yet greater decorations to their city from a larger sum, which a little management might enable them to obtain from an augmented excess of this productive Annuity Tax. Nothing is more curious, nothing more humiliating than the management to which the two parties had recourse, on this animating occasion.

The clergy wished that with this new extension of the royalty, there should be, as formerly, an extension of the tax also. Why not? Who could object? The forefathers of this generation had been taxed for the church; and why should it fare better with the children than with the fathers? Those *now within* the Athenian domain had been taxed; and why should those who were to be

brought in refuse to share in the burdens, seeing they were destined to share in the immunities and honours? It was not for the magistrates to object. For themselves, probably, they were taxed already; and as for the rest, the more Annuity the better for the beauty and the fame of their dear city. So the clergy and the magistrates, the church and the state, in Edinburgh, hoping both to gain at the expense of the people, heartily agreed in this,—that over the extended royalty there should be diffused the blessing of an extended Annuity Tax. It could not be imagined, that with such parliaments as the period of the French war produced, any objection, any difficulty, any question, could arise in that quarter. But how was the matter to be managed, so that both clergy and magistrates should hope to gain? The ecclesiastics of the day knew how, as far as they were concerned. They drew the section of the proposed bill that related to the Annuity Tax ‘with cunning craftiness,’ saith the historian of these transactions; in which, by dexterous arrangement of vocables, it was obscurely, deceptively, but effectually provided, that the whole Annuity Tax—as well that portion which should arise from the new and splendid territory, as that which was collected from the old—without any deduction whatever, for the decoration of the city, or any other purpose, should go to the clergy; and that in this large fund, and certain others specified, not six ministers, as the law had hitherto fixed, but all the ministers in the royalty, should share.

Thus all the golden dreams of the magistracy touching this new mine which they hoped to work for the benefit of the city were dissolved in air. But were the magistrates asleep? No, they were not. They thought with themselves that the preparation of this clause was in the best possible hands. Would the clergy of Edinburgh do a selfish or deceptive thing? Would they deceive the magistrates, for the purpose of enriching themselves at the expense of a fund of which the magistrates were the guardians? Who would breathe such a surmise, or pollute his bosom by harbouring within it the dark and uncharitable suspicion.

But why were not the people alarmed? There was a way to prevent this too, and the clergy found it out; for the clergy are wise. Smuggling was, at that time, common in Scotland; and in so good a cause, the clergy judged that smuggling, often employed to cheat the king, might, in this instance, be piously employed to cheat the people. It is well known, that when any local act is to be applied for, the standing orders of the House of Commons require that parties intending to introduce the bill should publish notices in the newspapers, and on the church doors, specifying all the objects to be embraced in the bill, and that any clause beyond the notices which finds its way into the bill is considered fraudulent. Clauses of this kind, are called

‘smuggled clauses;’ the authors of them being ‘smugglers,’—just as contraband articles are called ‘smuggled goods,’ and those who deal in them obtain their name from their vocation. Notice was given in due form, that a bill was to be brought in for the extension of the royalty; but no notice was given, that a clause was to be inserted modifying so essentially the Annuity Tax, both as to its amount and its application. The bill, however, soon became law, and the clause, too well known in Edinburgh as ‘the smuggled clause,’ formed part and parcel of it.

Now came the tug of war. With the authority of the legislature on their side, it was not to be expected that the clergy would allow their new privileges long to slumber. They quickly applied to the magistrates and council for an augmentation of their salaries, which, at that time, were at the moderate rate of £330 a-year. The council sternly refused their request, little aware of the vantage ground now occupied by the petitioners; and informed them that, if they chose, they might take legal steps to obtain redress. Rash defiance! The clergy were not slow to accept the challenge. They entered court manfully; and claimed at once £750. a-year, with £75. additional for house-rent. And what pleadings ensued! ‘Tell it not in Gath.’ The ministers boasted that they had prepared the clause with great care, and by the aid of legal advisers; the magistrates protested that they were deceived, that they were altogether unaware of the contents of this ‘smuggled clause,’ otherwise, they never would have put it into the power of the clergy thus to enrich themselves with the spoils of the municipal bonds, and of the public. It was judged by many, that the court of session would not sustain the claim of the ministers, and would refuse to enforce a virtually illegal act of parliament. But the whole college of justice were specially exempted from the Annuity Tax—and, by a majority of one vote, the clergy triumphed, leaving the gulled council, and the fleeced people, to digest their common misfortunes as best they might.

Is it wonderful that the citizens of Edinburgh should detest this impost, and that extensive resistance should be made to its exaction? Indeed, we only wonder at that apathy, that servile deference to usage, that morbid love of ease, that absence of stern and active principle, of just and generous indignation against iniquity and fraud, by which, either within the church, or without its pale, this disgraceful joke could have been endured for an hour. The truth is, that resistance, active or passive, to the Annuity Tax has been nearly uninterrupted since its commencement; and the history of this resistance, and of the means employed to subdue it, is very striking and instructive. Each of the rival parties who have alternately enjoyed it, has experienced great opposition to its collection; the party exacting being always horror-struck with

the impiety and perversity of the wicked recusants—and the recusants being not less impressed with the tyranny and injustice of their exactors. During the civil war and the protectorate, it was held by the Presbyterians; and then it bore very hard on the consciences of the Episcopalians to support disorderly, unapostolic Presbyters, and besides reduced them to the hard necessity of supporting both their own clergy, whose services they enjoyed, and those of the favoured party from whose ministrations they derived no benefit. When Episcopacy was restored with Charles, and the Annuity restored to episcopacy, what could be more rebellious and ungodly in the eyes of Episcopalians, than the refusal of refractory Presbyterians to obey God and the King in supporting an apostolical hierarchy? What more horrid in the estimation of Presbyterians than to uphold by their money the superstitions of black prelacy? And once more, when the Stuarts fell never to rise again, and when episcopacy fell finally in Scotland by the revolution, what was so reasonable to the joyous Presbyterians as that all classes of the community should be compelled to support the divine ordinance of Presbytery? What so mortifying to their fallen antagonists, intoxicated with the possession of power and wealth for twenty-eight years, as to uphold a species of lay-ecclesiastics, whom they equally hated and despised?

The means employed to coerce payment were various. In addition to the ordinary expedient of distraint, it was common in former times to quarter soldiers on the disobedient; and to give additional effect to this punishment, to compel them to board as well as lodge these unceremonious inmates. During the two centuries of the continuance of this impost, distraint has been the common recourse,—in some cases, incarceration. These distraints, as may be supposed, have often produced expenses more than equal to the sum distrained for. It will give our readers some idea of the amount of annoyance caused by these proceedings to specify a few facts. ‘Nearly one-half of the records of the Town Council about this period (after the Restoration) are filled with ‘matters respecting the ministers and their stipends, their churches ‘and sessions,’ says the narrator of these events. ‘Judging from ‘the records, the support of the church appears to have been a ‘source of constant annoyance, and an intolerable burden on the ‘inhabitants of Edinburgh, for the last two hundred years!’ For a long period the tax was collected not by the clergy, but by the Council; and although the Council were abundantly desirous that the tax should be productive, for the good of the town, as well as of the ministers, they did not wish to shock public feeling by unnecessary rigour; they did not estimate the houses altogether at rack-rent—they gave liberal exemption in cases of alleged poverty—and they rather reined in than spurred on the obnoxious

prosecutor. When the tax came to be the property of the Clergy exclusively, they complained loudly of this lenience, and urged the magistrates to greater severity. The magistrates replied, that such severity 'would not be submitted to by the inhabitants,' and that they, if they were still urged, 'would no longer continue to put the Annuity act into execution, but shall leave it to the ministers to elect stent-masters and choose collectors for themselves, in any way they may think proper.' The ministers, nothing abashed, took the magistrates at their word, and since 1820, 'have become tax collectors, receiving the whole produce of the various revenues.' The result was an increased activity on the part both of the recusants, and of the clergy by their agent. In 1833, legal diligence was used against 768 persons, upwards of 700 of whom were exposed to a second prosecution for expenses; and upon the whole, 'the expenses for the prosecutions for the recovery of the Annuity tax, during 1833, amounted to £1127 3s. 1d.' Incarceration was subsequently employed; but with so little favourable effect to the clergy, that during this year, (1838) no fewer than 1900 recusants have been reported as simultaneously exposed to the visitations of the law. But we must quit this narrative.*

‘*Ab uno disce omnes.*’

The history of the Edinburgh Annuity Tax, is a history, *in parvo*, of civil establishments of Christianity, in their mildest and most reduced form. What is their origin? From beneath, not from above—the will of man, not the will of Christ. He has not invested his church, or any section of it, with a right to employ the secular arm to coerce a reluctant support of his divine institutions. No church, availing itself of secular power, dare say, ‘the weapons of our warfare are not carnal?’ They are carnal. ‘If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight.’ You fight, you unsheathe the sword, and you smite with it. You pillage the property, you incarcerate the persons of men, of your own brethren. Are these weapons given you by Christ, or by Caesar? From this earth-born influence what real advantages does the Christian church derive? *Status* and *emolument*, it will be said. Her ministers are elevated to a higher grade in society than those unacknowledged by the state—their income is more plentiful, more secure, derived from a more respectable source,—

* We have been indebted for these facts chiefly to an elaborate and interesting tract, by an able and excellent man, well known in the Northern metropolis, Duncan M’Faven, Esq. The tract is entitled ‘History of the Resistance to the Annuity Tax, &c. From Authentic Documents, Edinburgh, 1836.’

and this thing so much valued, *respectability*, is shared even by the lay members of the establishment, whose pastors the state honours, who worship in superb and venerable edifices, and who feel themselves associated with the most wealthy and noble in the land. Whether these are advantages which the true disciples of the Redeemer will very highly appreciate, we leave to such to determine. Supposing them to be advantages, are there no countervailing evils? Upheld by the state, the Church necessarily becomes the subject of the state; either by express compact surrendering her natural independence, as Warburton and others teach, and expressly owning a parliament, a king, a queen, as her head; or virtually, though not professedly, becoming a creature of the state, as the highest legal tribunal has declared the Scottish church to be. And what can compensate to the church for this sordid exchange of freedom for bondage, for this degrading barter of her noble birthright, this sacrilegious surrender of the liberty wherewith Christ hath made her free. Then see what sort of influence descends from the state upon the church. Her clergy, very often introduced by secular patronage and favour, subscribe, in too many cases, doctrines which they neither teach nor believe, and take the cure of souls for a living. And will such men, ungodly themselves, guard the sanctity of the church against the intrusion and the influence of the ungodly? In state churches discipline is unknown, and the christian profession ceases to indicate any distinction of moral or religious value. In the course of events, differences must arise betwixt the church and the state; the church must be extended, she must have more money, more power, more abundant means of influencing the population; suspecting, scolding, menacing, if her demands are refused; contriving, intriguing, canvassing, to get friends in, and to keep foes out; till she alarm the state with her power, and shake the whole fabric of society by the *imperium in imperio*, which that power creates.* Indeed, the principles of the system will not bear examination. In spite of the plausibilities with which special pleading may invest them, they are palpably exclusive, unjust, harassing to conscience, at war with freedom. Perhaps, however, in the arrangement of means, a development of the system, by its operation and effects, is necessary to its removal. Society is slow to reason on principle; its decisions are determined by facts. The system must become offensive and impracticable to statesmen,

* In these contests with the secular authorities for objects purely secular, clerical character never escapes intact; the clergy too generally, showing more of the selfishness, cunning, avarice, and pride of secular ecclesiastics, than of the disinterestedness, meekness, and humility of the disciples and servants of Christ. Unhappily, by such manifestations of character, religion itself is the chief, though the innocent sufferer.

vexatious to society at large, at last irksome and intolerable to good men connected with it, ere its final downfall can be peacefully effected. By such means, it appears to us, providence is plainly and rapidly preparing the way for a better order of things in this country; and to the reflecting and the pious who cling with overwhelming fondness to a state church is emphatically and solemnly enforcing the call, 'Come out of her, my people.'

We must now introduce our readers to the discourse of Dr. Brown. We understand that until a recent date, Dr. Brown was in relation to the Annuity Tax, *ultra vires*, living beyond the limits of the taxed territory. Circumstances, however, led him to settle within these limits, and it immediately became a practical question with him, which side to choose. To pay or not to pay? was the question. In the first instance he resolved to pay; but in order to do justice to his own convictions, he published in the newspaper a species of protest, to the effect that he did not pay the tax willingly, or from any approval of it, but yielded to necessity alone. On a more mature consideration of the case, however, he saw it to be his duty to advance a step farther, to cast aside all compromise, and, knowing that he had the option of paying, or of suffering for non-payment, he determined to subject himself to the latter. This was no unimportant step for any man, particularly for a public man to take; and Dr. Brown very distinctly indicated the importance he attached to it. At a public meeting, held in Rose Street Church, on the 19th of October last year, on the subject, we believe, of the Annuity Tax, Dr. Brown rose, and, amidst the breathless silence of the assembled multitude, uttered, with what effect it is easy to conceive, these memorable words, 'I am the only minister of the secession church in this city liable to be assessed for the Annuity Tax. I have not paid it; and, while I retain my present convictions, I never will pay it. In an elaborately prepared paper, of which these are the first sentences, and which is one of many interesting documents appended to these discourses, Dr. Brown explained and vindicated the measure he had adopted. We cannot afford room for this document; it may suffice to say, that after stating his principles respecting submission to the powers that be, the duty of paying tribute to whom tribute is due, and his cordial regard for Christian brethren connected with the established church, he declares his conviction of the unscriptural, unjust, and injurious character of civil establishments of religion, of the imperative duty of refusing all active support to these institutions, and concludes the paper with these words:

'It may be asked, then, why do you not pay the tax again under a similar protest? For this plain reason, that I am convinced from experience that all the desirable ends of passive resistance have not been

gained in this way, and that a stronger manifestation, both of the iniquity of the system, and of my abhorrence of it, is likely to be made, by permitting those who are unhappily interested in the execution of what I account an unjust law, to avail themselves, if they please, of whatever powers the law may give them to punish me for my conscientious conviction. I consider it my duty not only to keep my conscience void of offence, which my public protest did; but to do this in the way most calculated to produce the greatest degree of good, as well as the least degree of accompanying evil. On these principles, I have not paid, and while they continue unaltered, I will not pay the Annuity Tax. Such is the path which my conscientious convictions have chalked out for me. I call on no man to follow me farther than he is a participant with me of these convictions. 'Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. Happy is he who condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth.'—Notes, p. 70.

The city was in an uproar. 'Dr. Brown has refused to pay 'the annuity tax!' was in every one's mouth. The wrath of the church was heated sevenfold. Dr. Brown, every one knew, is no common man. He is an able and eminent Christian minister. He is one of the Professors of Theology in the Institution of the church to which he belongs. He is known universally as a man of talent, of extensive knowledge, of much erudition, of long-tried and consistent piety; a gentleman withal, and so gentle too, as rather to eschew than court the storm,—far fonder of the pulpit than of the platform,—fully more given to converse with the dead than with the living, and just as remote from the character and the vocation of the agitator and the demagogue (in the offensive sense of these terms) as man can well be. He must be, he is, an influential man. 'What then is to be done?' was the question. 'Shall we let him alone; or shall we run him 'down?' 'Run him down by all means,' was the policy of his opponents,—a policy, however, easier in the adoption than the execution. In the church and tory journals, he was denounced as a rebel against Christ and Cæsar—against the law of God, and the law of the land; and as the patron of principles and practices which might soon convulse society, and deluge the country with blood. His scholarship was elaborately, though anonymously attacked; even his knowledge of the facts of which he writes was questioned,—with what success, the curious and valuable documents and notes already referred to will enable the reader to judge.

Amidst this activity of his opponents Dr. Brown did not deem it his duty to sit with his hands folded. He had ample resources at command, and he resolved to avail himself of them. The cause of truth and righteousness was assailed through him, and it was incumbent on him to step forth in its vindication. To the newspaper attacks he replied in a long and able argumentative

epistle, which properly appears among the appended papers; but as the general subject is so important, he determined to devote two discourses to an exposition of the passage Rom. xiii. 1, which he justly considers to be a compound of '*the law of Christ respecting civil obedience, especially in the payment of tribute.*' Into this passage Dr. Brown enters with great critical minuteness and ability. He adopts the obvious division of the paragraph; considering the first five verses as containing an injunction and enforcement of civil obedience. *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. For there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shall have praise of the same. For he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake.* From the two remaining verses he is led to the doctrine of Christ respecting the paying of tribute: *For, for this cause pay ye tribute also: for they are God's ministers attending continually upon this very thing. Render, therefore, to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour.*

In examining the first, he sets aside, on the one hand, the sense given to the passage by the friends of despotism, that kings receive their power immediately from God, hold it by a tenure exclusively divine, are responsible for its exercise to God alone, and have a right to demand, in the name of God, an unlimited obedience from their subjects; and, on the other hand, the interpretation of those who consider the Apostle as enjoining obedience on no existing subjects to any existing government, but, by an ingenious abstraction, describing a government which ought to be, and an obedience which, in such a case, should be rendered.

Avoiding both extremes, he adopts the generally received interpretation,—that the Apostle, without defining the limits of civil authority on the one hand, or of civil obedience on the other, affirms the duty of obedience to the existing powers, and enforces by the strongest reasons that obedience. On this part of the subject, no man can state more clearly and solemnly than Dr. Brown, the right of the rulers to exact, and the duty of the subjects to yield, obedience. But he fearlessly institutes the inquiry, Are this authority on the one hand, and this obedience on the other, limited or unlimited? And with all constitutional jurists, with all sound divines, with every interpreter of the

sacred writings who consents to obey this canon of interpretation, that the Bible is the great interpreter of itself, he decidedly answers—the authority and the obedience are limited. He shows that unless we elevate human authority unduly, unless we commit to civil rulers the control of all moral duty and obligation, and exalt them above all that is called God or is worshipped, in every precept enjoining obedience by man to man, there must be a limitation, either understood or expressed. Sometimes it is not expressed, as in the following examples: *Wives, submit yourselves to your own husbands as unto the Lord; for the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church. Children, obey your parents in all things. Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh.* The man who would expound these precepts without limitation, if he is not a fool, must be a concealed enemy of the morality, and consequently of the inspiration and authority of the Bible. The very same limiting principle *must be* applied to the injunction of obedience to rulers. Is this violence to the text? By no means; the text demands it. For, in the first place, a limitation is in reality found in the text itself. ‘*He is the minister of God to thee for good;*’ that is, he is so in many parts of his administration. But if he forbade to teach or preach in the name of the Son of God, and scourged and imprisoned his servants in obeying the command of their Master, whether then was he God’s minister or the devil’s? whether was he enjoining and administering good or evil? whether was it duty or sin to obey him? *Rulers are not a terror to good works*—that is plainly, only when they sanction, or suffer good works, not when they interdict and punish their performance. *Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same;* that is, in as far as *the power* approves of that which is good, but not certainly when it unhappily approves what is evil, and condemns what is good. Dr. Brown, we think, should have made this limiting character of the passage much more prominent than he has done. In the next place, the limitation of obedience to the civil powers is made clear as with a sun-beam, by the whole tenor of approved example on the part of the persecuted in evil days; and by the recorded maxim of the Apostles, so plain in its own reasonableness that the inspired men deem it enough to state it even to their enemies. *Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye. We ought to obey God rather than man.* Dr. Brown states three distinct limitations to civil authority—when it opposes the will of God—when it is illegal, in regard to the existing law of the land—and when the magistrate transgresses his own province and invades that of God. The last, we think, might have been included in the first.

The second discourse is occupied with the question of tribute; and here Dr. Brown adopts the proposition apparently self-evident—that the paying of tribute is just one form of civil obedience, a species included in the genus. The authority by which the other laws of the state are made and enforced, makes and enforces the laws respecting tribute. Taxation is only one form of legislation; and the ground of our obedience to the laws respecting taxes is the ground of our obedience to all other laws. There is no peculiarity in taxation exempting it from the conditions to which other departments of legislation are subject—or the paying of taxes from those conditions by which other parts of civil obedience must be regulated. If a bad law is passed requiring me to do what is wrong, my obligation to obey ceases in regard to that law, because in obeying man I should be disobeying God. So, if a tax is imposed for a wicked object, my obligation to pay ceases; because by paying I should be contributing to an object at variance with the will of God. Suppose I lived in a heathen country, and were required by law to conform to the national idolatry, my obligation to obedience would in that instance be suspended; my duty requiring not obedience, but disobedience. But were that government to abstain from commanding me to worship its gods, but to tax me for the support of the superstition—for the erection of the temple—the decoration of the idols—the purchasing of victims to be offered at their shrine, would not my obligation to pay cease in like manner? Should I not be as really countenancing and supporting the idolatry by paying for its maintenance, from regard to human law, as if, from deference to that law, I should bow the knee to the idol? The idol should no more be paid for than worshipped. The whole should be utterly abolished. The paramount authority of God, therefore, which sets me free when I am commanded to worship, sets me free when I am commanded to pay. My virtue, in such trying circumstances, consists in honouring God rather than man, no matter to what obloquy, what injury, even to the spoiling of my goods, the loss of my liberty, or the destruction of my life, my steadfastness may expose me. This is the high ground which Dr. Brown occupies and defends.

That there are difficulties connected with the subject no one will deny; but they are not insurmountable. 1. It may be said, if you object to pay a tax imposed specifically for a bad object, how can you consistently pay the general taxes, which may be partially applied to such objects? To this it may be sufficient to reply, that the support of government is laudable and necessary—that security of property, life, and liberty, could not otherwise be maintained—that for these objects tribute is a debt—and that we must not refuse the whole on account of the misapplication of a part, which were obviously unjust. But when a bad object is

defined, when a tax for that object specifically is imposed, all ambiguity is removed, and we owe it to ourselves, to the government, and to God, to keep ourselves clear in such a matter. 2. Tribute, it has been said, is a debt; and as my obligation to pay my private debts is irrespective of the abuse which may be made of them when paid, so my obligation to pay tribute is not affected by the purposes to which that tribute may be applied. In the one case, the creditor, not the debtor, is solely responsible for the abuse he makes of the money paid to him; and so is it in the other. This objection, however, assumes that subjects have no more control over the state than private and independent individuals have over each other. But, especially, it takes for granted the very thing to be proved, namely, that the tribute in the case supposed is really a debt. When I pay a private debt, by the very supposition, I owe it for something which I have received, or am to receive. By equity, or compact, the debt exists; and all I have to do is to pay it. But in the other case, the question is, whether the tribute be debt? Pay debt by all means; but ascertain first whether what you pay be debt, especially when you are assured that whatsoever you pay is to go to mischief. Obedience to civil authority in all lawful things is a debt, and as a debt I pay it, but when the state requires what no state has a right to demand, the doing of what is evil, the debt of civil obedience is not constituted; a false claim is made; a fictitious debt is created; when I am told I owe it, I am told what is not true; when the bill is urged, I have a right to dishonour it, by a prior and a paramount law, the state has been denuded of all right, or rather, all right has been denied to the state, to constitute such a debt against me. So, if I am required to support with my money a wicked object, the payment is not due; I do not owe that debt; and in refusing to pay it, it is not debt I refuse to pay. The law of God renders it sinful in the state to impose or in me to pay, in such a case. 3. Perhaps the most formidable objection remains to be noticed. It may be asked, who is to judge respecting the objects of taxation? Must every individual be left to judge for himself? In this case, will not the pretence of conscience be in the mouth of every greedy malcontent? Will not one object to this tax, another to that, a third to all, until the resources of the state be drained, the whole process of its administration suspended, and anarchy, first with its ruin, and next with its iron despotism, ensue? To all this it may be replied, that if this refusal on the plea of conscience is to be rejected for its abuse, every thing good being liable to abuse, may be disposed of for the same reason—that if this plea be invalid, in regard to taxation, it must also be invalid in regard to civil obedience generally—that the power possessed by the state to coerce and distrain is sufficiently powerful to prevent, not per-

haps the pretence of conscientious objections to particular taxes, but the reducing of those pretences to practice—that when passive resistance to any tax becomes general, it is invariably wrong to impose it, and its imposition in such circumstances can only be vindicated on the principles of tyrannical despotism—and that the opposite doctrine, namely, that which would exclude the conscientious judgment of the individual from this department of his obedience, is mischievous and degrading, investing government with despotic power, reducing the subject to a mere machine, which the state may move at its pleasure, and assuredly preparing the way for intolerable oppression on the part of the state, the ruin of all that is generous, noble, and free, on the part of the people, and ultimately some violent re-active convulsion to break in pieces a yoke which even men reduced to the condition of the brutes can no longer bear.

Such, upon the whole, are the sentiments which Dr. Brown advocates; and his application of these to non-payment of the Annuity tax is obvious enough. He believes that when the civil magistrate legislates in religion, he steps into God's province, where he must be resisted as an intruder, not obeyed as a lord. He is persuaded that just as if the magistrate were to require him to cease to be a Dissenter and to unite himself with the established church, he could not obey him, the lord within being paramount to the lord without, the Lord of heaven being superior to the occupant of the earthly throne; so when he is enjoined by this subordinate authority to support with his money the system he condemns, he has the same answer—he is not careful to obey in this matter. The state may arrest his property, it may incarcerate his person—it may do worse; he quietly submits to the wrong. But the authority of the state will no more compel him to *pay* than otherwise to *act*, in opposition to the dictates of his conscience, and of God, who is greater.

We shall set before our readers some specimens of Dr. Brown's discourses. The following extracts relate to the obligation of Christians to obey the powers that be in all lawful things, and their exemption from this obligation in things unlawful.

* With regard to practical instruction, it obviously teaches us, that Christians, in all countries and ages, should respect and obey the civil government under which they live,—that a Christian who follows a course which tends to anarchy, acts as wicked as well as an inconsistent and foolish part—that no Christian is warranted to disturb a settled civil government because it is not, in its form and administration, so good as he could desire it—that, for example, the Briton who glories in the mixed government of his country, must not, on going to America, conspire or rebel against its republican institutions—that the American, who is at least equally proud of what he counts the pre-eminent freedom of the constitution of his country, must not, on com-

ing to Britain, either secretly or openly, seek to subvert its government—that neither of them going to Turkey or to China, should act the part of a ringleader or promoter of sedition—and that all Christians, placed in the same circumstances in reference to the government under which they live, as the primitive Christians were in reference to the Roman government, are bound to act not only on the same general principle, but in precisely the same way. A Christian individual, or a body of Christians, living under a Pagan or Mohammedan government, are bound to do all in obedience to those governments that their enlightened consciences will permit. They are quietly to submit to such sufferings as the government may inflict on them for their non-compliance with what they account sin; and they are to do nothing to unsettle the government, except by the dissemination of the doctrines and laws of Christ, which sooner or later will, by their moral power, either improve or destroy all the secular governments on the face of the earth.

* * * *

‘It is obvious, however, as we have already seen, that the obligation to obedience to any human government, even to the one expressly declared by an apostle to be ordained of God, has limits. ‘To pretend,’ says Bishop Burnet, ‘that we owe our princes obedience without reserve, is profane and impious. The laws of God, the King of kings, are reserves upon our obedience, to those whose highest dignity it is that they are ministers deputed by him. It is a reproach to all religion, and indeed a professed throwing it off, to any who pretend to be Christians, to contradict this so flatly as to assert an obedience to any human authority without reserve. The more solemnly and publicly this is done, the reproach is the deeper. For it is the open preferring ‘the creature’ to ‘the Creator, God blessed for ever.’ Subjects are only bound to render to princes what is theirs; that is, the rights vested in them by law, custom, and constitution, and no more. And if we are only bound to render them what is *theirs*, then if they should demand what is not *theirs*, but is by the most strict possible provisions still ours, such as the liberty of our person, the property of our estates, and the observance of our laws,’ (the good bishop might have added, our conscientious convictions, and our immortal hopes,) ‘we are certainly not bound to render them these, because, in a constitution like ours, no prince can call them *his*. We may preserve them as from robbers, so from all illegal and violent invasion. Warrants and commissions in such cases, are null and void of themselves.’

‘But let us examine a little more closely the extent of the limits within which submission to our government or to any government is obligatory. The existence of such limits will scarcely be denied in so many words in our times. And first, then, it is obvious that no civil enactment can ever make void the laws of God—can ever make that sin which He makes duty, or that duty which He makes sin. If the government were requiring its subjects (as some of its subordinate agents, not long ago, did in a foreign country, and unhappily had their conduct sanctioned by the commander-in-chief and a majority in the

House of Commons) to take a part in idolatrous worship, they not only are not bound to obey, but they are bound to disobey such a command. Unless a clear case of necessity can be made out, I do not see how a Christian soldier can obey a command to go to drill on the Lord's-day. Should the government engage in the prosecution of enterprises opposed to the law of God, and require me directly to support them, I am bound to refuse. Should they engage directly in a trade, which they too long sanctioned, and send our ships of war as slavers, to the coast of Africa, would it be consistent with my duty to serve as a sailor aboard these ships, or, which as we will by and by see comes to the same thing, pay a tax, levied avowedly for the purpose of supporting this service? If government, in making and executing laws in reference to the church of which Jesus Christ is sole Lord or King, usurp his place, can any Christian taking this view of the government's conduct, actively support such an usurpation? And what other view can an enlightened Christian take of it? Is not Jesus Christ the sole King and Head of his church? Who has right to legislate in her, or about her, but himself? To whom has he delegated the power given to him by the Father? Can a Christian safely, or in any way, show his approbation of a principle, which is indeed the soul of 'the Man of Sin'—of a system the very foundation of which is permitting human authority to take the place of the authority of Christ—by adding to, and taking from his institutions?—pp. 40—44.

The following is the only other passage we can afford room for. It relates to the limitations of the law of tribute.

'The questions—Whether this precept to pay tribute, as addressed to the Roman Christians, had any limits; and if it had, what were they, come now to be considered. The thought that first suggests itself to the mind reflecting on this subject is, that payment of tribute being just one of the innumerable forms of civil obedience, particularized in the passage before us, for reasons which have been already assigned, must share in the limitations which, in a former part of this discourse we have shown, characterize the whole class of duties to which it belongs; and this conclusion is strengthened, by perceiving that the other particular precepts specified along with it, all of them require limitation. It is only within certain limits that we are to fear or honour any human being, however dignified and powerful. These considerations will go far, I think, to settle the question with every unprejudiced inquirer, and induce him to proceed immediately to endeavour to ascertain what are the limitations, about the existence of which he can have no doubt.

It seems, however, to be held as something like an ethical axiom with many, that this precept about tribute-paying has no limits; and it has been gravely argued, that the circumstance of its being singled out from among the endlessly diversified forms of civil obedience, and made the subject of an express statute, proves this. The reason why such prominence is given by the apostles to tribute-paying has already been stated. It must strike every person, that if the apostle, in speci-

ying tribute-paying, had intended to teach that the limitations which attach to other forms of civil obedience were inapplicable to it, he would have distinctly said so, and not have left the precept in reference to expression, exactly on a level with a precept, which all *now* admit requires to be understood with exceptions. Besides, tribute-paying does not stand out quite so singly as has been supposed. There are honour and fear; and surely these sentiments, without limit, are not due to any created being.

Still, however, we do not deny, that the precept as to tribute-paying may be without limit: all we say here is, this does not prove it to be so. If it be unlimited, which certainly is a very improbable hypothesis, this must arise, not out of its general nature, as civil obedience, but out of something which is peculiar to it, as tribute-paying. There are only two conceivable causes, in the absence of a distinct declaration of the law-giver, which could give this idiosyncrasy to this particular form of civil obedience: either that the parting with money is not in itself, properly speaking, a moral act—or, that supposing it to be in itself a moral act, if performed voluntarily, the compulsory character of the exaction strips it of its morality. Neither of these views of the case, and I can conceive of no third, is at all tenable.

Parting with money stands, with regard to morality, on a level, neither higher nor lower, with all other external acts. Viewed apart from the principles of the intelligent moral agent who performs them, they have no morality. To walk to the heathen temple—to lay incense on the heathen altar, viewed as mere external acts, are just as little moral or immoral as the parting with money. To walk to a heathen temple and burn incense on an idol's altar, is disobedience just from the state of the mind of him who does it—from what must be the state of mind in any sane man who does it; and exactly in the same way, parting with money voluntarily for what I know or believe to be wrong, is just as obviously immoral,—immoral for the same reason, as employing any other set of means, over which I have the control, in the same way.

But admitting all this, it has been said that the compulsory character of tribute strips it of its moral character in one way, and invests it with a moral character in another. Here is an object to which I could not voluntarily contribute without sin; but God has given another party authority to impose tribute on me, and he has power to compel me to make payment: so that whatever be the object, I have no concern with it, while, from the divine command, it is my duty to make the required payment. Now, in the first place, we have to remark here, that in taking for granted that God gives to the magistrate the right to impose tribute for whatever purpose he pleases, the premises are made to contain the very conclusion to be drawn from them—a convenient, but not a very reputable mode of arguing; and, in the second place, that compulsoriness is not a quality peculiar to tribute-paying—it belongs to all acts of civil obedience: the very principle of civil government being force. If a Christian was commanded to pay a tax for the support of idol worship, the very same power that was ready to punish him if he did not do it, was equally ready to be put

forth against him for refusing to go to the temple and worship; and if the compulsory nature of the requisition is a good reason for complying with the first, it would be difficult to see why it should not be a good excuse for complying with the second. If actual absolute force were employed in either case, then indeed the moral character of the acts would be lost, obliterated, destroyed; for in that case the man would cease to be an actor and become a sufferer. It appears, then, that there is nothing in the nature of tribute, to take it out of the general category of forms of civil obedience; there is nothing to make the precept's having limitation, an impossible thing.—pp. 66—69.

We regret that, without unduly prolonging this article, we cannot go farther into an examination of these valuable Discourses, and the valuable Appendix to which we have repeatedly alluded. We regret that, for the same reason, we cannot examine some replies which the Discourses have already called forth. Of these the chief are the Letters of Robert Haldane, Esq., to whose attacks on Dr. Brown indeed, immediately after his refusal to pay was made public, we believe we are indebted for the Discourses themselves. The letters of Mr. Haldane have been published at a cheap rate by the friends, we understand, of the national church, with whom (strange coincidence enough) Mr. Haldane acts as an ally. We flatter ourselves that the leading objections to Dr. Brown's opinions advanced by Mr. Haldane have been anticipated in the preceding paragraphs. Mr. Haldane is not the man to stick at trifles; he goes right sweepingly to work: pay in every instance, no matter for what object the state demands your money, only pay, is his doctrine; and do it cheerfully, otherwise you rebel against God! Dr. Brown had referred to Juggernaut, and had said, that if a tax were imposed by government for the purpose of supporting the obscene and bloody rites of that idol, 'a Christian must do violence to every principle of his new nature, and crucify every holy affection,' ere he could bring himself to pay that impost. But Juggernaut himself does not scare Mr. Haldane. 'Sorry reasoning,' he exclaims. 'In giving the money enjoined, he has not to crucify one holy affection.' (What sort of affections must Mr. Haldane deem holy?) 'He gives it cheerfully,' (mark the assumption) '*because it is the will of his God to obey*, while with his whole heart he abhors the wicked purpose to which it is appointed. . . . The money paid in tribute is not his own, but is in full the property of those to whom it is appointed to be paid. 'God has taken it from him;' (what God? the holy and righteous God of heaven? or the god of this world for one of his idols?) 'and he ought not only to acquiesce, but to rejoice in complying with God's appointments.' But a child must answer, *is this God's appointment?* God does not appoint me to *worship* the idol, in obedience to the magistrate, even when he requires

me to obey the magistrate who demands that worship; neither does God require me to *pay* for the idol worship, when he commands to give tribute to the magistrate who enjoins this payment. Both have the same limitations. No one acquainted with Mr. Haldane's tone of writing will expect much of the attractive in his pages. In this instance he is, we fear, alike remote from the calm dignity of literary or philosophic inquiry, and from the candour and charity which religion prescribes. He is petty, waspish, intolerant. You are not wrong only in that thing in which he differs from you; you are hostile alike to religion and good government; you subvert all things; you rebel against your country and God, and should be dealt with accordingly. He judges that Dr. Brown should be forthwith placed under the ban both of the church and of the state. 'He is deserving of ecclesiastical rebuke, while at the same time his allegiance to the government of his country is *justly liable to impeachment*. . . . Others more ignorant and less prudent than himself may be emboldened by his dereliction of duty to assume a still more decided attitude of insubordination, and thus occasion scenes of murder and bloodshed, such as those with which the same line of conduct has already desolated Ireland.' It is good for Dr. Brown that Mr. Haldane is imbecile, and that statesmen are more merciful than this aged Baptist Dissenter. We believe him to be a disciple, but we fear he has not purged himself of the perilous ambition to command fire. Old as he is, he will excuse us for very humbly recommending to him a renewed study of Luke ix. 54—56.

The question which Dr. Brown has thus contributed to obtrude on the British public is of peculiar importance at this hour; and, on this account, we strongly recommend his work to the careful perusal of our readers. In a period of national repose, when all things continue as they were, and no one is bold enough to propose any practical change of importance, principles and discussions hostile to national usages are mere theories, with which a few speculative minds are permitted harmlessly to amuse themselves, but which are not meant to accomplish any thing of moment. It is otherwise now. The present is a season of change, and opinions produce measures. We not only think what should be done, but we venture to set about the doing of it, old usage notwithstanding. We attempt improvements. Our old marshes are draining—our stagnant lakes are finding outlets—the issues of our fountains are guided into channels; and, through the power thus acquired machinery is worked, by which results the most important to the whole condition of society are progressively obtained. Dr. Brown has done much to cut a new channel, or to clear an old one, to pour a stream of no mean influence into the channel he has prepared, and to give an additional impulse to a

very active machinery which the wise welcome, though the *old frame* men would gladly break it in pieces, if they could. In truth, the influences now at work in Britain—not against the church of Christ, as the friends of abuses talk,—but against the coercive support of a church by civil law, and the intrusion of the civil power into a province placed by God beyond its jurisdiction, are many and strong. The majority by far of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom are unconnected with the Established churches, a fact which is pressing more and more heavily every day on the minds of considerate statesmen—the numbers of those within the established churches who are hostile to exclusive privileges, and are now heartily willing that their party, on the ground of justice, should abandon these privileges, and support their own institutions by their own exertions, as their dissenting brethren have always done, are rapidly increasing—the conviction that religion, in place of losing by its disconnexion with the state, and its separation from the influence of state-jobbing and patronage, would gain incalculably, is irresistibly making way—the impossibility of moving onwards in a course of wise, just, and peaceful legislation, with the whole weight of the churches acting on the wheel like lock-drags, is seen and felt by the nation—the factious zeal of ecclesiastics, their fantastic pretensions, their obsolete arrogance, their insatiable cravings from the treasury of the country, have now become offensive and insufferable. These and other influences now in progress are very strong. But should a new moral influence accumulate in British society—should the question be instituted extensively, ‘Are we at liberty to contribute by tax, rate, or tithe, to the support of an institution at war with the will of God?’ and should the result of that inquiry coincide with that at which Dr. Brown has arrived—should the passive resistance of quiet quakerism become, we say not universal, or even general, but very extensive in the country, running through the ranks of the Dissenters in Scotland, and of the non-conformists in England, a power which we cannot estimate would thus be added to those already acting in the cause of religious liberty, the holy and indomitable spirit of the ancient martyrs would thus animate and impel the host, the moral struggle would soon be ended, and a glorious victory be secured.

Art. III. *The Athenian Captive: a Tragedy.* By T. N. TALFOURD, Author of 'Ion,' &c. 8vo. pp. 103. Moxon, Dover-street. 1838.

THERE are few men who have studied the Greek drama more deeply than Mr. Talfourd, and fewer still who have so thoroughly imbibed its spirit. This is the second attempt he has made to introduce amongst us a species of composition bearing in many respects a close resemblance to the ancient tragedy; at all events imbued throughout with a classical spirit. It is true there are certain innovations made, without which such compositions could not be accommodated to modern tastes at all. There is, of course, no chorus,—the piece is divided into Acts and Scenes. Little as there is in the 'Athenian Captive' of the exhibition of *love*, (the staple source of interest in the modern drama,) there is more of it in Mr. Talfourd's tragedy than can be found in the most celebrated remains of the Grecian drama. Its general aspect, however, there can be no doubt, is Grecian; it is so in the simplicity of the fable, in the fewness of the incidents, in the dignity of the characters and passions represented to us, in the scope that is given to the utterance of lofty and noble sentiment, and we may add in the severity of taste, and the elegance of diction and style, by which it is generally marked; although we must confess, that here and there the style appears stiff and laboured: there is a want of ease and flexibility. This fault, however, is only occasional.—The story also is Grecian; this indeed follows as a matter of course, for it would be impossible to construct a drama so nearly approaching in spirit to the ancient models, out of the materials which modern life and manners supply, without doing violence to all our associations, and risking the introduction of the most palpable incongruities.

The plot which, as we have represented, is extremely simple and inartificial, is soon told. Creon, the aged king of Corinth, is engaged in war with Athens. His queen, Ismene, descended of the royal blood of Theseus, had been carried off from Athens long before by a band of Corinthian marauders. Her beauty had raised her to share the throne of Creon; but the splendours of this situation do not in the slightest degree mitigate the pangs of captivity, and she considers all the grandeur by which she is surrounded as but the trappings of a gilded servitude. Cherishing perpetual recollections of that illustrious city, which seems to have been above all other cities capable of inspiring her children with a truly *filial* reverence and love;—indulging in bitter regrets of her lost heritage and birth-right of freedom, she meditates schemes of vengeance, and patiently awaits some opportunity which shall enable her to realize them. Creon has two children by a former queen, Hyllus and Creusa, two characters conceived and sketched

with a truly Grecian spirit of delicacy and loveliness. Creusa is almost as beautiful a vision as the Antigone of Sophocles. Hyllus, chafing at some taunts of Ismene (who was ever seeking by such means to inflame the passions of the royal house of Corinth), rushes, though a mere stripling, into the battle with the Athenians; engages with a distinguished Athenian warrior named Thoas, who, after striking him down, spares his life from a sentiment of generosity and in admiration of his courage. The forbearance of Thoas, however, leads to his own capture; and being brought to Corinth, though his life is spared by the intercession of Hyllus and Creusa, he is doomed to put on the garb of servitude and descend to the condition and tasks of a slave. The proud spirit of the Athenian chafing under these indignities, mourning over his freedom, and the loss of that still dearer glory for which from his earliest youth he had so earnestly panted, is well described. While a slave, he a second time saves the life of Hyllus, and by his nobleness and magnanimity, wins the affections of Creusa. Under such circumstances he has a fair prospect of regaining his freedom, but Ismene, who sees in him only the instrument of her long desired revenge, artfully procures from his enemies the most ignoble treatment. She takes delight in multiplying the indignities thrown upon him, for the purpose of exasperating his spirit and exciting within him the thirst of vengeance. She extorts from him a solemn promise of an interview on the very night on which Creusa appears to him in his solitary imprisonment, with the offer and the means of freedom. He pleads his plighted word to Ismene, and while they are debating the matter, the summons comes. Ismene now reveals her purposes of vengeance, but Thoas magnanimously rejects every scheme which requires for its accomplishment secret violence, bloodshed, or treachery. In the course of the dialogue, Ismene discovers, but without imparting the secret to him, that Thoas was the infant child whom she had left amidst the blazing rafters of her Athenian dwelling when she was swept into captivity in a foreign land. She then contents herself with effecting her purposes without his cognizance—by his blind and involuntary concurrence. She shows him how to effect his escape; she tells him he must pass through a certain chamber, and she exacts from him the promise that if any one shall oppose his passage as he steals through, in the darkness, he will strike him down with his dagger. That chamber is the chamber of Creon. As Thoas passes through it, the monarch, roused by the noise of footsteps, stretches out his hand to arrest the intruder. A single blow of the Athenian's dagger at once dispatches him. The whole conception and spirit of this part of the play is thoroughly Grecian.

Thoas makes his escape from the palace and city, and rejoins the Athenian camp; stung, however, with remorse at the hideous recol-

lections of the murderous deed he had committed. Here he meets with the exiled Hyllus, and learns by his answers to certain questions, the full extent of that calamitous crime into which he had been so artfully betrayed;—that the fatal chamber was the chamber of Creon, and that he had thus murdered the father of his friend Hyllus, and of his more than friend, the young Creusa. From the madness of remorse, he is transiently roused by the sight of his countrymen in arms, and by the visions of military glory. He leads on the hosts of Athens, plans the attack, obtains a complete victory over the enemy, and conducts them to Corinth in triumph. Here the transient excitement of battle ends. The momentary illusion of triumph vanishes. A sad interview with Ismene, who fills up the measure of his horrors by disclosing the relation in which he stands to her, awaits him. The dialogue is well sustained, and characterized by all the appropriate graces of the dramatic style. It is followed by a brief interview, still more touching, with the heart-broken Creusa. While the dialogue with Ismene is proceeding, Iphitus, a priest of the temple of Jupiter, enters and summons them to the investigation of Creon's murder, announcing that till the discovery and punishment of the criminal, a perfect cessation of all hostile feeling had been agreed upon between the conquerors and conquered. The oracle had been consulted; it delivers its ominous declaration that Ismene could disclose the name of the murderer. This incident displays much dramatic skill, but we do not think the catastrophe itself is managed with a dexterity at all corresponding to it. They repair to the Temple, and Ismene, between maternal solicitude for her long lost son, and unabated desire of vengeance on her enemies, points to Hyllus as the criminal. Thoas implores his imperious mother to reveal the truth; she refuses, and departing from the Temple, plunges down an abyss near the Temple of Jupiter. Thoas, without implicitly declaring himself the criminal, sacrifices his own life, and Hyllus is freed from accusation. We think that the catastrophe might have been better managed. It is, in our opinion, too confused, precipitate, and needlessly shocking. The obstinacy of Ismene would surely have been a 'dignus vindice nodus;' a difficulty well worthy of the intervention of supernatural agency; and the punishment of the queen and her son might have been mysteriously left to the justice of the gods.

Such is a brief and meagre outline of this very able attempt to transplant into our literature the spirit of the ancient drama. We shall now present our readers with two or three of its more beautiful scenes. There are few more striking than that in which Creon, (in whom the selfishness of old age had extinguished almost every passion, except that of parental tenderness,) and Creusa are introduced to us. Iphitus and Creon are engaged in a dialogue,

when the quick ear of a parent detects the approaching footsteps of his daughter. Iphitus says:

‘ Still thine age
Is green and hopeful ; there is nought about thee
To speak of mortal sickness, and unnerve
A soul that once was noble.

CREON.

Priest, forbear !

The life that lingers in me is the witness
With which I may not palter. I may seem
To-day to wear the look of yesterday,—
A shrivell'd, doting, peevish, weak old man,
Who may endure some winters more to strip
A leaflet daily from him, till he stands
So bare of happiness, that Death hath scarce
An art to make him nakeder. My soul
Begins its solemn whispers of adieu
To earth's too sweet companionship. Yet, hark !
It is Creusa's footstep ; is't not, priest ?
Is not my child approaching us ?

IPHITUS.

Afar

I see the snowy foldings of a robe
Wave through the column'd avenue ; thy sense
Is finer than the impatient ear of youth,
That it should catch the music of a step
So distant and so gentle.

CREON.

If thou wert

A father, thou wouldst know a father's love
'Mid nature's weakness, for one failing sense
Still finds another sharpen'd to attend
Its finest ministries. Unlike the pomps
That make the dregs of life more bitter, this
Can sweeten even a king's.

[CREUSA passes across the stage behind CREON, bearing offerings.

She passes on ;

So ! So ! all leave me. Call her, Iphitus,
Though that her duty own no touch of fondness,
I will command her. Am I not her king ?
Why dost not call ?

Re-enter CREUSA, who kneels in front to CREON.

Ah ! thou art there, my child ;
Methinks my waning sight grows clear, to drink

The perfect picture of thy beauty in ;
 And I grow gentle—Ah ! too gentle, girl—
 Wherefore didst pass me by without regard,
 Who have scant blessing left save thus to gaze
 And listen to thee ?

CREUSA.

Pardon me, my father,
 If, bearing offerings to the shrine of Jove
 For my sweet brother's safety, anxious thoughts
 Clove to him in the battle with a force
 Which made its strangest shapes of horror live
 As present things ; and, lost in their pursuit,
 I heeded not my father.

CREON.

In the battle ?
 Is Hyllus in the combat 'mid those ranks
 Of iron ? He who hath not rounded yet
 His course of generous exercise ? I'm weak ;
 Is that the cause ? Is he impatient grown
 To put the royal armour on, his sire
 Must never wear again ? Oh, no ! his youth,
 In its obedient gentleness, hath been
 An infancy prolong'd ! It is the Power
 Which strikes me with the portents of the grave,
 That by the sight of his ensanguined corpse
 Would hasten their fulfilment ; 'tis well aim'd,
 I shall fall cold before it.—pp. 3—6.

The following is the exquisite description of Ismene supplicating vengeance before the statue of Minerva :

CREON.

Comes the queen hither ? Does she mock our bidding ?

IPHITUS.

At stern Minerva's inmost shrine she kneels,
 And with an arm as rigid and as pale
 As is the giant statue, clasps the foot
 That seems as it would spurn her, yet were stay'd
 By the firm suppliant's will. She looks attent
 As one who caught some hint of distant sounds,
 Yet none from living intercourse of man
 Can pierce that marble solitude. Her face
 Uprais'd, is motionless,—yet while I mark'd it—
 As from its fathomless abode a spring
 Breaks on the bosom of a sullen lake
 And in an instant grows as still,—a hue

Of blackness trembled o'er it ; her large eye
 Kindled with frightful lustre ;—but the shade
 Pass'd instant thence ; her face resum'd its look
 Of stone, as death-like as the aspect pure
 Of the great face divine to which it answered.
 I durst not speak to her.

CREON.

I see it plain ;
 Her thoughts are with our foes, the blood of Athens
 Mantles or freezes in her alien veins ;
 Let her alone.'—pp. 7, 8.

The following is part of the dialogue between Ismene and Thoas on the fatal night of Creon's murder. The associations which the young Athenian soldier had formed with his illustrious birth-place, and which inspired him with a love of his country and of freedom so deep and strong, are beautifully described ; and the manner in which the queen comes to a knowledge of the relation in which she stands to the young soldier, is eminently natural and touching.

THOAS.

What would'st have me do ?

ISMENE.

I have not wasted all the shows of power
 Which mock'd my grief, but used them to conceal
 The sparks which tyrant fickleness had lit,
 And sloth had left to smoulder. In the depths
 Of neighbouring caverns, foes of Creon meet
 Who will obey thee ; lead them thence to-night—
 Surprise the palace—slay this hated king,—
 Or bear him as a slave to Athens.

THOAS.

Never !

I am a foe to Corinth—not a traitor,
 Nor will I league with treason. In the love
 Of my own land, I honour his who cleaves
 To the scant graces of the wildest soil,
 As I do to the loveliness, the might,
 The hope, of Athens. Aught else man can do,
 In honour, shall be thine.

ISMENE.

I thought I knew
 Athenians well ; and yet, thy speech is strange.
 Whence drew thou these affections,—whence these thoughts
 Which reach beyond a soldier's sphere ?

THOAS.

From Athens ;

Her groves, her halls, her temples, nay, her streets
 Have been my teachers. I had else been rude,
 For I was left an orphan, in the charge
 Of an old citizen, who gave my youth
 Rough though kind nurture. Fatherless, I made
 The city and her skies my home ; have watch'd
 Her various aspects with a child's fond love ;
 Hung in chill morning o'er the mountain's brow,
 And, as the dawn broke slowly, seen her grow
 Majestic from the darkness, till she fill'd
 The sight and soul alike ; enjoy'd the storm
 Which wrapt her in the mantle of its cloud,
 While every flash that shiver'd it reveal'd
 Some exquisite proportion, pictur'd once
 And ever to the gazer ;—stood entranc'd
 In rainy moonshine, as, one side, uprose
 A column'd shadow, ponderous as the rock
 Which held the Titan groaning with the sense
 Of Jove's injustice ; on the other, shapes
 Of dream-like softness drew the fancy far
 Into the glistening air ; but most I felt
 Her loveliness, when summer-evening tints
 Gave to my lonely childhood sense of home.

ISMENE.

And was no spot amidst that radiant waste
 A home to thee indeed ?

THOAS.

The hut which held

My foster-father had for me no charms,
 Save those his virtues shed upon its rudeness.
 I lived abroad ;—and yet there is a spot
 Where I have felt that faintness of the heart
 Which traces of oblivious childhood bring
 Upon ripe manhood ; where small heaps of stones,
 Blacken'd by fire, bear witness to a tale
 Of rapine which destroyed my mother's cot,
 And bore her thence to exile.

ISMENE.

Mighty gods !

Where stand these ruins ?

THOAS.

On a gentle slope,

Broken by workings of an ancient quarry,
 About a furlong from the western gate,

Stand these remains of penury ; one olive,
Projecting o'er the cottage site which fire
Had blighted, with two melancholy stems,
Stream'd o'er its meagre vestiges.

ISMENE.

'Tis plain !
Hold ! hold ! my courage. Let the work be done,
And then I shall aspire. I must not wait
Another hour for vengeance.'—pp. 49—52.

We can find room for only one more extract ; it is from the First Scene of the Fourth Act, which opens with Creusa bending over the Urn of Creon. It is full of a pathos and tenderness, a calm beauty, not unworthy (again we say) of Sophocles.

'CREUSA.

'Tis strange !—I cannot weep for him ; I've tried
To reckon every artifice of love
Which mid my father's waywardness proclaim'd
His tenderness unalter'd ;—felt again
The sweet caresses infancy receiv'd,
And read the prideful look that made them sweeter,
Have run the old familiar round of things
Indifferent, on which affection hangs
In delicate remembrances which make
Each household custom sacred ;—I've recall'd
From Memory's never-failing book of pain,
My own neglects of dutiful regard
Too frequent—all that should provoke a tear—
And all in vain. My feelings are as dull,
Mine eyes are rigid as when first they met
The horrid vision of his thin white hairs
Matted with blood. Gods ! let me know again
A touch of natural grief, or I shall go
Distract, and think the bloody form is here.

Enter HYLLUS.

Hyllus ! my brother ! thou wilt make me weep,
For we shall mourn as we were lov'd together.
Dost thou know all ?

HYLLUS.

Yes, all.—Alas ! Creusa,
He died in anger with me.

CREUSA.

Do not dwell
On that sad thought ; but recollect the cause

Was noble—the defence of one whose soul
Claims kindred with thine own.

HYLLUS.

Unhappy sister,
What sorrow stranger than thy present grief
Awaits thee yet ! I cannot utter it.

CREUSA.

Speak ;—any words of thine will comfort me.

HYLLUS.

I fear thou must no longer link the thoughts
Of nobleness and Thoas.

CREUSA.

Then my soul
Must cease all thinkings ; for I've blended them
'Till they have grown inseparate. What is this ?

HYLLUS.

That he hath made us orphans.

CREUSA.

He is free
From such ignoble guiltiness as thou.
What fury shed this thought into a soul
Once proud to be his debtor ?'—pp. 66—68.

We have of course regarded this drama merely as a *literary* production ; the only point of view in which it is at all interesting to us. We understand, however, that it has been acted ; with what success we know not. Mr. Talfourd tells us indeed, in his brief preface, that the piece originated in his wish to assist Mr. Macready in his efforts on behalf of the *acted* drama. That Mr. Talfourd would be very happy to see the 'acted drama' purged of its bad taste and worse morality, we can easily believe, and the public ought to be obliged to any man who makes an honest endeavour (however ineffectual we may believe it will be) to render it innoxious. We believe that such efforts will,—that they must be ineffectual ; that however pleasing from their novelty, and for a little while, such productions as those of Mr. Talfourd may be, the great mass of the audiences who throng our play-houses will soon get tired of them, and demand food more coarse and stimulating. Some, indeed, vainly anticipate the day when the drama shall be made an instrument of moral instruction, a teacher of virtue and goodness, and compete with the pulpit, if not supersede it. It will be time enough to talk of this, when the

play-house can be made a place even of innocent recreation. That a drama may be so constructed as to contain nothing at all offensive to morals; nay, may abound in a great number of excellent precepts and sentiments, we have no manner of doubt; but whether such dramas, if exclusively acted (and this alone be it recollected is the point) would stand a chance of attracting such audiences as could alone repay the expenses of the spectacle, we think can be as little matter of doubt. A vast revolution must at all events take place in the taste and morals of the people before this can be.

But even if many of the plays represented on the stage had little or nothing objectionable in them, our great objections to the playhouse on the score of morality, would remain perfectly untouched. We think those who have condemned the practice of attending plays have sometimes weakened their cause by laying the chief stress rather upon the pernicious influence of the drama itself, than upon the circumstances with which its representation is necessarily connected. That many of the plays represented are highly injurious to the youthful mind, we have not the slightest doubt; it is equally true that it is the *concomitants* of the play which render the play-house chiefly dangerous. It is a tainted atmosphere; the air is such as virtue would not willingly breathe. It is the company with which the youth meets, the obscenity and the vice with which he is familiarized, the inflammatory influences by which he is surrounded, the dissolute manners (more dangerous because often veiled under an air of exterior elegance) which beset him on every hand, the general character of the *corps dramatique*,—it is these things which have rendered the play-house, and will render it, most ruinous to youth. These nuisances, we admit, might be greatly abated, if only such dramas were acted as were unexceptional—such as Mr. Talfourd, and men like him, would feel the greatest delight in attending; but then comparatively few would sympathize with them, and the *nuisances* of the play-house, and the play-house itself, would alike vanish together.

- Art. IV. 1. *Rome*. In 2 Vols. (Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia.)
 2. *The History of Rome*. By THOMAS KNIGHTLEY. [Carried down to the sole dominion of Augustus Cæsar.] 2nd Edition. 1837.
 3. *History of the Overthrow of the Roman Empire, and the Foundation of the Principal European States*. By W. C. TAYLOR, LL.D., &c., of Trinity College, Dublin; Author of a History of France, and the Historical Miscellany, &c.

IT is said that the historian of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, was first determined to dedicate to that great event the chief labours of his life, while his eye wandered over the ruins of Rome.—All Europe is Rome in ruins. The Forum and the Coliseum do not speak more plainly of fallen Rome to the natural eye, than does the whole texture of European society, and the Christian church in her secular pomp, witness of the same to the well-informed mind. We are not indeed Roman citizens, as some interpreters of prophecy would persuade us; yet the more we know of what we are, politically and religiously, the more manifest is it, that we cannot know our own selves aright, without understanding the history of Rome. Indeed, the history of Christianity and the history of Imperial Rome are so closely knit together, that the latter must ever possess a powerful interest with all well informed Christians.

But republican Rome is in a political view not less important, and for the British nation it possesses a peculiar source of interest. In it we see a remarkable specimen of a *balanced constitution*, the comparison of which with our own government is in many ways instructive. As we know of no history to compare in magnitude, variety, and universal importance, so we know none intrinsically so adapted to become popular in England. A continuous narrative of the fortunes of Rome, from her pagan birth down to her Christian adoption:

——dum capitolium
 Scandit cum tacitâ virgine pontifex——

until a new capital and a new religion, a new court language and new ceremonial, proclaimed that that which had been was no more; such a narrative, if at once philosophical, and accommodated to unlearned but sound-minded readers, would be a national work of real importance. We might even herald its approach by the call:

Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii,
 Nescio quid majus nascitur Iliade.

But as yet, we have seen nothing to meet our idea. There is indeed announced, as in the press, the first volume of a history of Rome, by that eminent scholar and noble-minded Christian

theologian, Dr. Arnold of Rugby; but time will show whether this will presuppose too much knowledge in the reader to be a popular work.* Meanwhile, our histories are certainly very much improved, as the books whose titles are at the head of this article, fully show.

An eminent writer† considers it to be the providential office of England to teach the world how a mixed government can be maintained. Indeed Tacitus despondingly remarked, that such a government is never permanent. Yet the Romans, to the full as much as the English, showed great sagacity in maintaining it; and it was not causelessly that Virgil gave them the prerogative of *governing*. We know that men of first-rate powers have expressed the sentiment, that it is something peculiar to Teutonic blood which imparts that practical good sense, tact, and sobriety, without which the love of freedom fails of making states free; insomuch that if it be asked why the Greeks, or the Hungarians, do not enjoy a sounder liberty and better political institutions, it is supposed to be enough to reply, that they are of Pelasgian and of Finnish extraction. We have ourselves also much belief in the real, though not unchangeable, difference between the races of mankind. The military prowess of the Normans in all parts of Europe, perhaps cannot be accounted for so well by any other hypothesis, as by that which with Shakspeare refers it to their *breed*.

—This teeming womb of royal kings,
Feared by their breed, and famous by their birth—

Nevertheless, it savours too much of national partiality, to fancy that we are the only people in the world who understand constitutional government; and it has a most wholesome refutation in the states of ancient Italy. Of course we can speak but little of most of them, except as there is a presumption that they were similar to early Rome. But if we do not mistake, the Latin league bore (on a small scale) a striking similarity to the federal system of the North Americans. It is very common to speak of *representation* as a principle perfectly modern; only because the parliaments of the ancient republics were municipal assemblies, gathered from a single city or county. But in the Latin league,‡ each city sent its ten deputies to the Congress at

* The volume has appeared since the above was written, and we apprehend its high merit does not at all disappoint Dr. Arnold's admirers. But as it is of a character totally different from the works which we are reviewing, we purpose ere long giving it a distinct notice.

† Sir J. Mackintosh.

‡ The Amphictyonic Council, the Achæan league, and, in Asia Minor, the congresses of the Ionians, Æolians, Dorians, were all of the same stamp; but among the Greeks, it generally happened that one city or state was too powerful for the rest, and enslaved the whole confederacy. The Achæan league was an instance to the contrary; but it sank before foreign force.

the fountain of Ferentinum, forming a supreme parliament of 300 members ; a number not too great for orderly and effective legislation, nor too small to represent all feelings and interests fairly.

A comparison of Roman and English constitutional history points to this singular difference ; that the balance of powers was acted on in the Roman state, from earliest memory ; while in England, it has only been inwrought by time and experience. If the Saxon monarchy was limited, and if our Norman sovereigns were forced to yield many points of their prerogative, it was because the thanes and barons were stout warriors. There was a speedy decision by the sword. Wild freedom maintained itself by the most obvious method. It is only in a course of centuries that we have learned to entrench ourselves with constitutional maxims, using rebellion as a last resort, and opposing moral force, passive resistance, a spirit prepared to suffer, but determined not to be enslaved, in place of that prompt appeal to arms which inures a nation to civil war as an ordinary state of things. Our ancestors kept whatever freedom they had, just as the Arabs keep theirs. But in Roman history we cannot name the time at which the *organic* structure of the state did not show an elaborate attempt to maintain the balance of different orders. From a period almost too early to allow any thing else to be discerned, it may be clearly discerned that they spent singular pains on the framework of their constitution ; that the modes of procedure in their assemblies, their bringing forward of business, their debates, their voting, were regulated by most precise laws : and that practical sagacity was active in perpetually adapting and modifying institutions to the growth of the community. We do not mean that there was less selfishness and narrowness in the possessors of power at Rome than at Athens or Syracuse ; or that just claims were conceded without a struggle, and as early as they should have been : but (what is next best) a succession of compromises were made ; rights were extorted little by little,—after much blustering, but with little or no bloodshed,—so that no sudden changes were felt, nor did any *oscillation* of power between opposite factions endanger the equilibrium of the whole nation. In such a community the tyranny of an individual of course could not be endured. And if the destruction of the monarchy seem to be a violent step, let it be remembered that the Roman king was only an elective officer ; and that from the earliest times, the true sovereignty was considered to reside in the public assembly ; as the phrase *populus jussit regem* (the people commanded a king to be made) shows. See Livy i. 17, 22, 32, 35, 46. The change at the expulsion of Tarquin was vastly less than the abolition of monarchy in Great Britain would be. It was putting *two* generals instead of *one*, and making the office yearly ; expe-

rience having shown that the civil and military authority combined in the person of the king, was too great to be safely held for life. But in all other respects, the consuls (as they were afterwards called) held precisely the power of the kings. In fact, it would seem that hence flowed what has been stigmatized as the principal vice of the Roman Constitution,—the extravagant powers given to every officer of state: by which many of their greatest sufferings were caused.

The Greek republics in general, whether in Asia, in Greece Proper, in Sicily, or in Southern Italy, differed greatly from that of Rome in the mode of proceeding in the popular assemblies. At Athens and at Rome alike, the popular assembly was what our ancestors called a 'folk mote;' such as was sometimes held at St. Paul's Cross. But at Rome there was a most jealous restriction put on the proceedings of the assembly. It could only reply, Yes, or No, on the matter which its chairman laid before it. No private citizen might speak, no one could amend a motion. The practical good sense of the Romans showed them from the beginning that a multitude can never profitably meet for deliberation and debate. Indeed, the contrast of Athens and Rome was far more deeply seated. The constitution of the former was the work of an individual,—of Solon; it was first invaded by the usurper Peisistratus, and next undermined by the aristocratic demagogue, Cleisthenes. The Roman system was hammered out by the conflict of evenly balanced parties, and was made to endure for ages. The grievances of the lower orders were little by little redressed; and in the first Punic war, Rome was internally free and united, governed mildly by a public spirited aristocracy, which was strong enough to lead and protect, but not strong enough to oppress. Her institutions had taken a hold of the national mind rarely paralleled. In politics, her organization was complicated; her veneration for precedent extreme; her changes gradual, and barely enough for the end in view. In religion, the higher orders were reverent, hypocritical, and politic; the lower people so grovelling and stupid in credulity, that nothing was too gross for them. In war, the discipline was cruel, obedience most devoted, privations and toil extreme; the soldier (says Polybius) thought of nothing but 'to do what he was bid,' though it were to sail against a tempest, or fight a stone wall. His spirit was upheld by deep-seated habit, become a principle of his existence; by a hardy frugal life, and by a strong sentiment of home and country. Such were the terrible soldiers whose prowess amazed the world, and prepared an unexpected way for the Prince of peace.

To the prohibition of debate in the Roman assembly must be added the highly important circumstance, that although one man's vote was as good as another, yet they voted by tribes; and a majority of

tribes, not of votes, determined any question. It rested with the Censor to place persons in what tribe he chose: hence the importance attached to the measure which gained for Fabius Rullianus the surname of Maximus. He put all the city mob together into four tribes; so that when the whole local population agreed, they made but four votes out of the entire thirty-one then existing. Of the rural population only the richest and most respectable persons could afford to be in the city for the sake of voting.

To judge fairly what was the Roman constitution in its prime, we must view it for awhile with the eyes of Polybius. The high admiration which he expresses for it is natural, considering that he saw it in all the vigour of its martial exploits, and before it had sustained the fierce conflicts of faction, which began from the time of the Gracchi. But his judgment of it is formed on a sound knowledge of the working of its machinery; and the whole of the interesting analysis which he bestows upon it, is worthy of Aristotle, if we can forgive a little pedantry. He remarks that, from the complexity of its parts, it is very difficult for Greeks to understand it. *Their* forms of government are generally very simple, giving a decided predominance to one element, whether monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy; *it* is each one of these in turn. The Lacedæmonian constitution is the only one in Greece to which he can compare it, where two hereditary kings were balanced by a senate of peers and by a popular assembly. A foreigner at Rome, on seeing the supreme authority of the Consul over all public officers except the tribunes; how he presents ambassadors to the senate, lays before that body the business to be discussed, calls the popular assemblies, settles what measures shall be proposed for their acceptance, and has the whole executive department in his hands; how moreover he is despotic in all that pertains to war, both as to the command of the armies, and in drawing on the public purse; the foreigner, seeing all this, is at first disposed to look on the Consul as a King. But turning to another side, he finds the senate to have absolute control over taxation and expenditure, to be a high court for trial of public offences, and to transact all business with foreign potentates; and in this light the state appears to be a true aristocracy. But again, when he learns that the popular assembly calls all official persons to account, with authority to censure or honour, to fine in money, and even to punish with death for malversation in office, (whereas, in capital cases, there is appeal from the Senate to the Popular Assembly;) that it moreover elects all public officers, and has a vote on all legislative bills and foreign transactions; these prerogatives appear to him so ample, as to imply that the government is really democratic.

To get a vivid apprehension of the above, let us represent to

ourselves how our own constitution would need to be transformed, to make it approach to that of Rome. First, the crown is to be annihilated, and the ministry chosen every year by the Commons. The ministry must have two co-ordinate premiers, each of whom is commander-in-chief, besides his civil capacity. Two chancellors are to eject at will unworthy members of the House of Lords. All the business of the foreign office and exchequer must be handed over to that house; who also claim the right of taxation. The commons have to forfeit, not only this (in our view the most essential) prerogative; but are besides forbidden to debate or to amend measures: in turn, they win from the peers the right of passing sentence on impeached ministers, with the undoubted prerogative of enacting whatever their speaker proposes to them, in spite of opposition from the lords; even to the extent of lessening the authority or honours of that house. Neither can the lords bring in any measures they please, but must merely discuss those which the minister lays before them; and if any of them deviate from the business before the house to speak on another topic, it is only by sufferance and courtesy that he is heard. The vote and speech of each is asked of them in turn by one of the prime ministers. Finally (and what is to us strangest of all), instead of one speaker of the commons, there must be two, five, or ten, *any** *one* of whom can stop all public business whatever at his arbitrary pleasure. But this weapon can be turned against themselves when they are not unanimous; since any one can put his veto on the acts of all the rest, so as to prevent any business at all being brought before the commons. Such is a rude sketch of the Roman system; but it must be clearly understood that the 'commons' are not deputies from all parts of a large country, but are all the citizens and yeomanry of a small county.

Comparing the loss and gain of the lords, in the process of converting them into a Roman senate, we think our readers will agree with us that the gain preponderates; so that it might at first appear that aristocracy was more powerful in Rome than in England. But this would be to forget that even our house of Commons (so called) is highly aristocratical; as may be seen not only in its composition, but in its votes on every subject which brings the matter to the test; as the corn laws, or the law of primogeniture. The power of the senate was moreover considerably abridged by that very peculiar institution, the Tribune, reminding us of nothing† but of the Spartan *Ephors*. It is perhaps the only clumsy part of the Roman constitution. Their authority was too great in theory, and therefore often far

* Niebuhr holds that at different periods this was differently arranged; and that a *majority* of tribunes was sometimes needed.

† Cicero (De Rep.) compares it also to the *Cosmos* at Crete.

less in practice than might have been supposed: yet the power of annoyance possessed by an obstinate tribune was so very serious, that all prudent senators recoiled from the conflict.

That the aristocratic principle predominated decidedly as late as the second Punic war, has been fairly inferred from the fact, mentioned by Livy, that in the towns of Italy the democratic faction sided with Hannibal, the aristocracy with Rome. The first demagogue who appears in Roman history, is the hot-headed consul C. Flaminius, who was cut off with his army by Hannibal at the Trasimene lake; but it does not appear that he found any fuel in existing grievances. Indeed, it is most striking to contrast the internal state of Rome, from the expulsion of the kings to the Publilian laws (B. C. 507—336), with its state from the latter æra down to the tribuneship of Tiberius Gracchus, B. C. 139. In the former period we find ceaseless faction at work, diminishing, however, as the lower order gains more and more political privilege; in the latter period there is profound internal concord, (interrupted once only by the sufferings of the poor from the laws of *debt*,) with immense energy against the foreign foe. Although it is the proper business of a history to develope in detail the causes of this, yet as this is seldom done so popularly as we think it might be done, we will rapidly sketch what Rome was in the earlier interval.

The city, being situated on a navigable river, a little below the conflux of the Tiber and Anio, with the Tuscan's on one side, the Latins on the other, and the Samnites higher up on both streams, contained from the beginning a very mixed population. Three tribes of these oldest citizens were counted, distinguished at first by blood, and indeed for three centuries having internal legal inequalities.

But, besides these, in the times of the kings a large population settled in and round Rome, which was not admitted to the franchise of the city. This was named *Plebs*, or as we might say, Low Caste; in contrast to the *Patres*, Patricians, or High Caste. Intermarriage between them degraded the progeny. The Low Caste men originally could hold no public office, nor vote in any of the assemblies; and probably were treated as mere *foreigners*—aliens under the protection of the state; who, according to the maxim of the states of antiquity, could not even carry on a suit in a court of law, except under the name of a native as their patron. At this time, the supreme legislative power lay with the patrician assembly, called 'Curiae,' the courts or halls: these were 'the people,' in the law-language of the day, and their 'command' constituted a law. At their command a king was elected; their interposition could save a public criminal; or, as we might say, the sceptre of mercy was in their hands. Nevertheless, the organization of the whole body was eminently

aristocratical, so that power fell not to the poorer citizens, as in Athens, but to the rich. The citizens themselves were divided into clans (*gentes*), and in each clan the poorer part were uniformly dependents (*clientes*) of the rich; bound to them by a definite legal tie, and under duty to contribute to their influence and aggrandizement. The patron, on the other hand, found his glory in the well-being and flourishing pecuniary state of his dependents. All the great families of one clan had sacred rites in common; and of these families one would generally take the lead, so that the headman of the clan wielded the greater part of its influence. The mode of voting in their common council was *by clans*; which although difficult to understand, seems adapted to secure equal power to each clan. A popular assembly of such a nature of course needed a council of aldermen: such was the senate.

One of the later kings, known by the name of Servius Tullius, determined and achieved a great reform of the Corporation. He did not, indeed, venture to offend Roman superstition by any innovation which would entitle the Low Caste to participation in the *sacred rites* of the High Caste, or to intermarriage with them; he did not throw open the old assembly, but he instituted a new assembly, or as we might call it, Parliament of both Estates; which rode over the head of the other, and took all the most important prerogatives away from it.

The new assembly was evidently more national than the old one (if *national* be a word at all applicable in such a state of society); but it was so constructed as to give an immense preponderance to *wealth* and *age*, and in it, as in the other, no debate at all or amending of measures was allowed. To preserve the predominance of wealth, a *census* of all estates was taken every five years; from which word (rather than from *centum*,* a hundred), it would appear that the assembly was called Centuriata.

That the military spirit was as it were the heart and soul of the national union, is indicated by the fact that every man's place in the assembly, and place in the army, was regulated by the same scale and rule—his pecuniary estate. They were a body of national guards, voting in their ranks. Indeed it would appear a recipe for preventing war, to expose the wealthy foremost in the battle; to enact that those who have most influence in decreeing war, should bear the brunt of it in their own persons; which Niebuhr, and Mr. Keightley after him, assure us was really the case. But we must have some cogent

* If otherwise, the translation of Comitia Centuriata must be, 'parliament of the hundreds.'

proof before we can believe this. All that we can see is, that he whose vote is most influential in the assembly, is likewise expected to have the *best defensive armour*, and to hold the most honourable place in battle; but not necessarily the most dangerous. The poor plebeians, as we read a hundred times over, bore at Rome, as elsewhere, the chief scars of her countless conflicts, without any proportionate power of stopping hostilities, while the dictator drove them to enrol by the terror of his axes.

Neither are we able to believe, that the highest class of all, the cavalry, had the most dangerous service. (Keightley, p. 55.):

‘In this system, therefore, men had to encounter danger *in exact proportion to the stake they had in the state, and to the political advantages which they enjoyed*: for the knights also ‘purchased their precedence by being exposed to greater danger, *as they were badly equipped*, and riding without stirrups, were ‘easily unhorsed and disarmed, and were exposed to the missiles ‘of the enemy’s light troops.’ Is not this a mere spirit of systematizing? The obvious reason for making the first class keep horses, was because they could afford it; not in order to balance their political eminence by exposing them to peculiar personal danger. ‘Widows were also appropriated to the cavalry,’ says Livy rather oddly, ‘to feed their horses by;’ not, we presume, to be devoured by the horses by way of compensation for privilege, for the widows did not vote. But the rich widows were taxed because they were rich, and exempt from personal duties.

It is certain, however, that from this time the most exact registers of births and deaths and estates were kept at Rome; a matter of great importance; as it doubtless enabled the aristocracy to calculate the strength of the state with much precision, and the advantages of war or peace.

The new Parliament did not entirely supersede the old meeting of the Courts. It left to it everything that was directly or indirectly connected with religion, and with which it would have been *profane* for the low caste to meddle? And this at Rome drew a great deal after it; for it was necessary for all important undertakings to be sanctioned by favourable signs from the gods as by chickens eating and drinking, or birds flying in particular ways. Moreover, it had been usual for the Courts to elect all officers twice (as in our houses of Parliament bills are read three times); and this was now changed, so that the Estates should elect an officer once, and the Courts should afterwards confirm it. (Cic. Rull.)

It was probably Servius also who admitted plebeians into the senate, so that they were now disqualified only from holding

offices of state, and from intermarriage. It might be thought that these were no grievances to the poor, but only to the rich, plebeians. Far otherwise. Exclusion from intermarriage kept up the feeling of their being foreigners. The patrician who zealously defended the right of his humble client (a poor man of high caste) would cruelly oppress the low caste; nor could the latter expect any protection, until the public magistracies were thrown open to his own order. Besides, the 'auspices' being still in patrician hands, gave them a veto on every measure.

After the expulsion of the kings and the war of Porsenna, the whole state had suffered severely, but the chief distress fell on the plebeians, whose remote farms had been sacrificed to the enemy or neglected, while they were under arms. The extortionate usury exacted by the patrician money-lenders, and the horrible severity of the law of debt, nearly led to civil war. Indeed each caste was a nation in itself: they were long since compared by Niebuhr to the Protestants and Catholics of Ireland. The plebeians, accustomed to military organization, readily formed themselves into a formidable 'Political Union.' For purposes of registration they had already been divided into tribes, and at their head stood their tribunes or chairmen of their Union.

After civil war had been with great difficulty averted, the plebeians extorted from the senate the declaration that the tribunes should be *inviolable* (*sacrosancti*), and should be able to interpose in defence of a plebeian against any acts of the public magistrates; that he should moreover have the right of assembling the plebeians, to consult them and inquire their pleasure. Of course their resolutions had no force of law. In return, the patricians (as the history shows) gained the right of electing the Tribunes in the parliament of the estates, in which the plebeians voted, but so voted that the poor had no influence. It would seem that the patrician party had calculated on preventing any mischief from the tribunes' authority, by managing the elections in the general Assembly. These things took place, B. C. 492, according to the common reckoning.

Observe then the extraordinary complexity of the Roman state after these awkward compromises: *three* assemblies existed, where one was enough; and it soon appeared that the resolutions of the third and newest, though without legal force, yet, like the *votes* of our House of Commons, could not be despised. Indeed, the tribunes presently advanced the extravagant claim that the tribes should try and condemn capitally any whom they might judge to have invaded their recently extorted privilege; and (protected by their inviolable character) threatened to send the consuls to prison. The patricians had set the example of atrocity by private assassination. But it concerns

us only to notice the steps by which the barriers to good government were broken down.

First, the law of Publilius Volero (469 B. C.) established that the tribunes should be elected by the *tribes*. This was only the gaining of a weapon, by which other reforms might be enforced. Twenty-five years later, the tribunes won for their order the right of intermarriage with the patricians: and in the course of another century, an actual admission to all the public magistracies was gradually obtained. The most remarkable æra of contest was concerning plebeian consuls; decided by the Licinian law, B. C. 365.

Meanwhile, in conformity with a bill of the tribune Terentillus Arsa, ten commissioners (*Decemviri*) were appointed to compile a code of laws, B. C. 450. According to Livy, the object of the code was to define and limit the consular power. Modern writers, since Niebuhr, rather believe that the object was to equalize all laws, as between the two castes; to extinguish clientship, regarded as a vassalage; and *by introducing the patricians into the tribes*, to make the assembly of tribes include the whole nation. This can only be learned, however, by somewhat uncertain inference.

But the tyranny of the Commissioners precipitated matters. In their third year a *secession* of the multitude took place, which was only appeased by the laws of the popular consuls, Valerius and Horatius. One of these, as given by Dionysius, is: 'Whatever the plebeians command by their tribes, shall be as valid as if passed by the estates;*' so that in future the tribunes were at liberty to take the votes of the national parliament in whichever of two ways they pleased; either by the tribes (i. e. vote by the head), or by estates; and that each should be alike valid in law. This was really a vast change; and could only have been carried at a crisis of so violent commotion: but it proved all the better. Aristocracy was so strong at Rome, that it could bear this and much more without the least danger.

The Horatian law probably did not supersede the veto possessed by the 'courts;' which veto however became almost obsolete and was naturally unpopular. The only occasion recorded on which they exercised it, was to exclude L. Sextius from becoming the first plebeian consul, B. C. 364. But the uproar was so great as to endanger another *secession*; which

* It is Niebuhr's opinion, that an actual *fusion* of the tribes and estates was effected by the censor Fabius Rullianus; of which no notice is taken in Livy. Such a fusion was certainly effected before Polybius's history begins; but at what time, is a matter of conjecture.

was the mode in which the plebeian party threatened war. The patricians at last gave way. Probably henceforth the veto of the courts was quite disused. For when the dictator Publilius (B. C. 336) brought forward his law, that the assent of the courts should be always formally given to every bill, while yet pending in the popular assembly, and before the voting had begun; a proposition apparently so strange excited no disturbance that has been recorded, but passed at once. Henceforward, 'the assent of the patricians' was a mere shadow, being conferred by thirty beadles, *representing* the courts 'for the sake of the auspices,' as Cicero says. Thus were the three assemblies finally reduced to one, and the discord of the castes nearly extinguished.

The fiction of giving assent by the thirty beadles, shows how much there was in the genius of Roman legislation similar to that of England. To neglect the auspices would have been irreligious; to turn them into a form was very bearable. Just so, after the English clergy in 1665 lost the right of taxing themselves, the custom was continued, and is still kept up, of summoning them to convocation at each new parliament. All the forms of electing proctors or deputies are gone through in the dioceses, and a speaker chosen at Paul's church: but the crown prorogues them before they can proceed to business.

It is curious to contrast also our *congé d'élire*, with an analogous device at Rome. In regard to the Irish church, the straightforward manner is pursued of appointing a new bishop by letters patent from the crown; but in England, as though that were an impiety, the deans and chapters have *leave* to elect the person nominated by the crown, with the punishment of outlawry if they refuse. A salutary method of reconciling the advocates of apostolic prelacy to the profanity of royal appointment! At Rome also, about a century before Christ, it was thought amiss that the election of the high priest should rest with the college of priests; but to take it from that religious body and give it to the popular assembly, would have been profane. The tribune Cnæus Domitius compromised the matter as follows. Out of the thirty-five tribes, he enacted that only seventeen should be assembled, and that the high priest should be appointed by a majority of them. Even if the whole seventeen were unanimous, this constituted but a minority of the thirty-five, and therefore their consent had no force of law. Yet the Domitian law enacted, that the college should then elect the person so recommended to them, *as if* he had been elected by the whole thirty-five. Thus Roman scrupulosity was satisfied that no compulsion on the priests was really used, when they were obliged by law to acknowledge as in the particular case compulsory, that which in other cases would not have been compulsory.

After the Publilian law, we said that the discord of the castes was nearly extinguished. For the only remaining struggles recorded, are marked by no greater vehemence than is to be expected at every contested election. The dictatorship, the censorship, and finally the priesthood, were gained so easily by the plebeians, that we have no evidence that there was any particular opposition at all: A rhetorical historian, like Livy, would always think it decent to represent that there was *some*; and would be glad of the opportunity of writing speeches about it. Finally, we read in the epitome of the eleventh (last) book of Livy, that 'after severe and long seditions *because of debts*, the people for the last time seceded to the Janiculum; whence they were brought back by the dictator J. Hortensius.'

It is stated by Pliny, that on this occasion, the dictator passed a law; that 'whatever the plebeian assembly commands, is binding on all Roman citizens:' the very words in which Livy states one of the Publilian laws. This is explained by Mr. Keightley, after Niebuhr, to have been an annulling of the veto possessed by *the senate*. We think however that it is not clearly proved that any* direct veto ever existed by which the senate, even in the earliest times, could annul a command of the supreme assembly. But this is no place for discussing these obscure matters. We will only add, that this 'Hortensian' law of Pliny appears to be the same as that which Cicero calls the 'Mænian,' ascribing it to Mænius, who was a tribune of the people in the year B. C. 286.

In the opinion even of Niebuhr, the popular power was now alarmingly great; yet now commenced the time of internal peace and universal patriotism. Facts disprove theory; doubtless because the community was not yet corrupted by victory and rapine, and the people had deeply seated habits of order and duty.

But when Rome had at length attained so well balanced a constitution, why did she degenerate? Had she not after all the seeds of dissolution in her, owing to the unhappy circumstance that the people were by law the true sovereign? And this is a question worth answering.

We may reply by a suppositious case, which our readers will appreciate. We read in English history, that under our early Norman kings, indeed nearly down to the great charter, a Norman faction kept dominion in the English boroughs. Thus in the corporation of London it was not till after a long struggle, that the Saxons were admitted to equality with the dominant caste. Suppose England at that time without a central government, and

* Postumius celebrated his triumph (B. C. 294) in spite of the senate's opposition: which Livy relates as a thing lawful, though unprecedented.

that the Londoners, having become strong by union, have made war on all their neighbours; and gradually conquered the whole island. It is evident that the government, which was liberal and expansive, while London was a city, has become a tyranny, now that London is an empire. A new and infinitely more extensive reform is now wanting, to put the inhabitants of all England on a par with those of the conquering city. The fruits of freedom are not to be expected from a country in a state of slavery. Who would lay the blame on *democracy*, if after this things went to rack and ruin? But so far were the Romans from being disposed to admit the Italians to equal rights, that they treated with the most bitter contempt the claims of their old faithful allies, the Latins; who were indeed but one people with them. Mr. Keightley has well told this scene, having here, as elsewhere, given a judicious and spirited abridgment of Livy.

‘Audience was given to them [the Latin deputies] on the Capitol, and nothing could be more reasonable than their demands. Though the Latins were now the more numerous people of the two, they only required a union of perfect equality,—one of the consuls, and one half of the senate to be Latins, while Rome should be the seat of government, and Romans the name of the united nation. But the senate exclaimed against the unheard-of extravagance of these demands. The gods were invoked as witnesses of this scandalous breach of faith, and the consul Manlius vowed, that if they consented to be thus dictated to, he would come girt with his sword into the senate-house, and slay the first Latin he saw there. Tradition said, that when the gods were appealed to, and the Latin prætor Annius spoke with contempt of the Roman Jupiter, loud claps of thunder and a sudden storm of wind and rain told the anger of the deity; and as Annius went off full of rage, he tumbled down the flight of steps and lay lifeless at the bottom. It was with difficulty that the magistrates saved the other envoys from the fury of the people. War was forthwith declared, and the consular armies were levied.’—p. 139.

Their behaviour to the Samnites is equally unreasonable. Mr. Keightley well contrasts the conduct of the two nations.

‘[After the capture of the Roman army at the Caudine Forks] the terms accorded [to the Romans] by Pontius, were: the restoration of the ancient alliance between Rome and Samnium: the withdrawal of all Roman colonies from places belonging to the Samnites: and the giving back all places to which they had a right. The arms and baggage of the vanquished army as a matter of course to be given up to the conquerors. How rarely has Rome ever granted a vanquished enemy terms so mild as these! Yet the Roman historians had the audacity to talk of the insolence of the victorious Samnites; and the Roman senate and people the baseness, meanness, injustice, and barbarity to put to an ignominious death the noble Pontius twenty-seven years after.’—p. 147.

Our readers may remember, that Pontius had just dismissed two consular armies unhurt; that the Romans took the whole advantage of the treaty of which they would not ratify one article; and that when they delivered to Pontius's will the few individuals who had sworn to the treaty, he indignantly set them all free. With like treachery the Romans afterwards behaved to the Numantines in Spain, and (as 'we hate those whom we have injured') pursued their advantage with like implacability.

For the tale is straightforward. The Samnites soon understood that the Romans would be satisfied with nothing but slavery; and a most deadly struggle began. We could not have anticipated that the Romans would be so successful; considering the ruggedness of the Apennines along the sides of which the Samnites lived, and the untameable heart of that free and simple people; whose virtuous habits were afterwards the eulogy of the Roman poets. Their subjugation is, however, attributed to their want of any central authority, which could watch against and promptly resist the machinations of Rome. It was not effected without the most wide-spread carnage and desolation of the land. Of the ferocity with which the Roman gored and trampled his prostrate foe, we may find an indication in Polybius's statement more than a century later; that on taking a city, they not only stab every human creature whom they meet, but even hack the dogs and cattle in pieces. A like statement is made by Thucydides concerning the barbarians of Thrace.—And when at last Italy was subdued to Rome, it was no longer the same Italy as it had been. Large tracts had been half desolated; some confiscated by public order, but appropriated to themselves by Roman grandees; others bought up at a low price; others allotted to Roman colonies. The ruined agriculturists swelled the town mobs, and not least that of Rome. The slave trade was stocked with captives from the numerous and merciless wars, and actively supplied labourers on the large, but desolate, estates. In fact it might have been foreseen that slave culture would now, in spite of law, carry every thing before it; for besides the cheapness of slaves, no proprietor could count on keeping free labourers; as they were perpetually drafted off to supply the armies. In the place of the old Italian yeomanry were fierce and lazy barbarians, dreadful in insurrection, but useless for work. But we are anticipating, and proceeding too rapidly. Before this, another implacable war against the Italian Gauls, had ended in the extermination of that people 'in a very short time from the whole plain on each side of the Po, except a few places close under the Alps:' (Polyb. ii. 35;) and that luxuriant soil, under slave cultivation and cut up with pleasure grounds, was unable to afford food for more than its own scanty population.

Etruria was the longest to escape desolation; but this district

in common with all Italy suffered the plague of the Marsic war and that of Sulla; respecting which we cannot refrain from extracting a striking passage from Niebuhr :

‘Those terrible ravages, which spreading from place to place, visited every region of Italy, and by which the citizens of the principal towns were entirely swept away, must also have proved destructive to monuments of every kind, especially to writings. In many districts the population was changed. Such was the final vengeance on Samnium : such the end of the persevering resistance opposed by Etruria to Sulla’s tyrannical and short-sighted resolution to do away with every thing that in the course of ages had been yielded to circumstances : such the end of her struggle to maintain the rights she had been rewarded with for standing aloof from the cause of Italy. The old Etruscan nation with her science and literature ceased to exist. The nobles, who had taken the lead in the common cause, fell by the sword. Military colonies were established in the large towns, and the Latin language became the only one prevalent. The greatest part of the nation was stripped of all landed property, and reduced to pine in poverty under foreign masters, whose oppression deadened every national recollection in the degraded generation that followed, and left them no other wish than that of becoming Romans altogether.

Thus did all Italy at length become Roman ; but she had withered under the cruel grasp ; and the metropolis with its enormous population, being permanently dependent for corn on Sicily and Egypt, was at the mercy of the winds and waves in a most imperfect state of navigation.

Matters were not so far gone, but were rapidly tending to this result, when Tiberius Gracchus brought forward his bills, of which the main object was *to enforce the existing laws* for cultivation by freemen : and now arose the intestine factions in Rome, the fault of which is so commonly thrown on ‘democracy.’* But the fault was in tyranny ; the fault was, that the freemen of one city could vote away the wealth and the lives of half the world ; that the illegal gains of *office* were so enormous, as to tempt men to buy them at any price : hence, force and bribery were alike used to gain the suffrages of the people. From this time and onward, hired bands of gladiators paraded the streets or blockaded the forum ; votes were publicly bought and sold ; nay, on one occasion, Julius Cæsar passed an *ex post facto* law, to legalize his own bribery. Under that which was called a democracy, the executive had grown to a gigantic size ; while the

* Since this article was written, a number in the ‘Quarterly Review’ has been published, in which the writer attributes the whole fault of these factions to the ‘Ballot ;’ and speaks as though the project of Tiberius Gracchus was obviously wicked. He styles it simply ‘*An Agrarian Law !*’ as if to insinuate, that it was a scheme for dividing private property.

legislative body had been perpetually degraded by the artifice of the oligarchs, who fed their bellies with corn, and their eyes with public spectacles. Of universal suffrage we have certainly no particular admiration; but we believe, that the wildest advocate of it among ourselves never dreamed of so absurd a government as that of Rome in the days of the Gracchi. Let us but conceive the citizens of London and the environs monopolising the franchise, *to the exclusion of all the gentry of all the rest of England*; and by their votes determining,—not only the ministers of state,—not only governors for all our colonies and more besides; but *the laws of the land*. Such was the popular assembly of Rome. It did not decide who should *be members* of parliament, but it passed *acts* of parliament itself; and no one but the tribune could interpose a veto.

Tiberius Gracchus had touched the interests of the slaveholder; it was to beard the lion in his den! But he went farther; he demanded that the public lands, shamelessly usurped by the nobles, against right and against law, should be restored to public uses. This was most legal, as most honestly intended; but the usurpations had been so systematically winked at, that the public lands had long been bought and sold as property. The measure was therefore felt as exceedingly severe, and was probably illjudged, especially considering the times. Moreover in zeal for what he believed to be essential to the welfare of the state, he doubtless exceeded his constitutional powers as tribune. But, we apprehend, this is a trifle; for it is as certain that those whose interests were touched, were resolved on his death, by fair or foul means, as it is every way probable that he had none but the purest motives. Nasica, the *high priest*, his kinsman, a large land-holder and slave-holder, when the consul Mucius Scaevola refused to use illegal violence against that which had a legal redress, set himself at the head of a mob of *senators* and *knights*, who, with bludgeons and broken benches, attacked Tiberius and his unsuspecting friends, and slew three hundred, including the chief object of their hate.

‘Thus for the first time for centuries,’ says Mr. Keightley, p. 305, ‘was blood shed in civil contest in Rome; a prelude to the atrocities which were soon to be of every-day occurrence. To the eternal disgrace of the Roman aristocracy; and to their own ultimate ruin, their avarice first caused civil discord; and their contempt of law, divine and human, sprinkled the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus with the sacred blood of a tribune, and taught to despise the majesty of office, and the sanctity of religion.’

We have brought down our remarks to the crisis after which law had no power in Rome, but brute force carried everything; so that the sooner they were under a despotic rule, the better.

But the subject of the *ballot* is of too much interest at present, to let it pass wholly unnoticed. Cicero's testimony to its mischief in his third book of *Laws* (ch. 15—17) is very explicit. 'Who,' says he, 'does not perceive, that the law of ballot has destroyed the authority of the better classes? *The people, while free, never desired it; but when oppressed by the domination and violence of the powerful, demanded it. And now you will find that in the trials of powerful criminals, fewer are condemned by ballot, than used to be condemned by the voice.*' This result, he attributes to bribery; and we may well believe it. But we cannot help extracting Mr. Keightley's very curious remarks:

'The rule he (Cicero) gives is the true one. Optimatibus* nota, plebi libera sunt (suffragia). It is certainly unjust in a landlord, for instance, to require his tenant to vote against his conscience; but the latter should reflect *how seldom it is really a matter of conscience, and how likely it is that he does not think for himself in these matters*; and therefore how much more likely it is that the landlord, who *has* a stake in the country, may have its real interest at heart, than the orator or journalist to whom he pins his faith, who probably *has not* a stake in it.'

—p. 315.

We apprehend that few tenants doubt, whether their landlords desire the prosperity of *their own stake*; but to have a pecuniary interest in a question, is not generally thought to help a man to an unbiassed judgment. But indeed, the argument is too lamentably weak to deserve notice; and we quote this chiefly to express our regret that Mr. K. has lowered his history in some very few places to the tone of a partizan. Yet we must do him the justice to say that he is never afraid of being energetic against oppression, nor slow to recognize and extol true patriotism.

To return to the ballot. It is wonderful that he does not see how exceedingly inapplicable is Roman balloting to our English question. If, indeed, it were proposed to extinguish debate in our houses of Parliament, to conceal the votes of the members; to enact that legislators, judges, and juries should all use the ballot; then it would be in point to show that this very matter promoted bribery at Rome, and will do so in England. Then he might urge that honourable members will prove treacherous to their constituents; that the offices of state will be set up to sale; that

* Moreover, if he has himself understood Cicero, he has not enabled his readers to understand. 'I have no objection to these regulations,' says Cicero in ch. 17, 'if they are meant to stop canvassing, as they generally are. *If the laws against canvassing can be enforced, let the people keep their ticket, as a protector of liberty, provided only it be shown to all the best and most respectable citizens, and be voluntarily offered; so that there may be liberty in the very act by which the people is able to give an honest gratification to good men.*'

all, in short, must go wrong, when the vigilant eye of the nation is withdrawn from our public men. And from this opinion we suppose that few supporters of the ballot would dissent. But the English question is, whether the vote should be secret which is given to a *non-official* person; who not only does not reap, as member of parliament, a harvest of gain by which he can reimburse himself for countless bribes, but is unavoidably put to very large expenses, for which but few can any way reimburse themselves. A Roman grandee, who was canvassing for the station of pro-consul of Sicily, or commander of the armies in Gaul, might possibly afford half a million sterling to buy votes; but will a candidate for a seat in our house of commons find it profitable so to squander? Unless this question can be answered in the affirmative, the whole matter stands on perfectly different grounds from that of the Roman ballot.

We desire our readers not to suppose that in anything of the above we are advocating either the ballot or democracy; we would only fain see things put on their right footing, and that history should not be, first viewed superficially, and then made to minister to party. We think it to be the same error which taxes Roman 'democracy' with the tumults of the last century of the republic, and American 'democracy' with the enormities of the slave-holding states; and that those who read history with so little discrimination, will read it only to be lead astray.

But we must not dwell longer on these topics. We think Mr. Keightley has acted wisely, in not permitting his scepticism concerning the early history to lead to the suppression of any part. He gives the common tales, in a poetical shape, with comments on them. To speak generally of his history, we find the narrative full and spirited, often eloquent, and generally just, as far as we are able to judge. The principal fault that strikes us, is in a certain weariness which the mind feels from the want of definite breaks and stops in the history. In English history, the series of kings, though an unphilosophical division, is highly convenient for memory, and for resting the mind; as is the clustering of reigns into dynasties: in the early Roman history it requires skill in the narrator to mark off the time, so as to make up for this want. We would, also, recommend, that in any new edition of *this* or *any* of his works, he would call in the aid of some cool judging friend, to cut out from his prefaces and advertisements disagreeable little traits of personal conceit, which would lead many persons to augur meanly of his productions. It would be ill-natured to quote proof that this is not said causelessly. But on the whole, we feel that his book is a most valuable introduction to Roman history, and one that was much wanted. Ferguson's history, with which alone this can be compared, has numerous merits; but makes not the least pretension

to throw light on the darker periods. We are sorry, that Mr. Keightley has allowed himself to be called away from completing his Roman History, by engaging in a History of England, which certainly was far less wanted; and the encouragement given him by the rapid sale of his first edition, seems to us to have put him under a sort of pledge to the public to make no needless delay:—for we cannot allow that he is at liberty to stop short at the death of Mark Antony, and maintain that the work is finished, because, the republic is then at an end. Every schoolboy wants to know somewhat about the Emperors of Rome, as well as about the republic; nor, indeed, is the lesson and moral of the tale complete, till we learn what fruits imperial Rome reaped from the barren or bitter laurels of republican Rome.

The History of Rome, in Dr. Lardner's 'Cabinet Cyclopædia,' is so different in character from the former, that they do not in the least interfere with one another. It is so deficient in narrative of facts, that it may be fairest to criticise it as if intended only as a *supplement* to existing histories. It is carried down to the founding of Constantinople, and includes not only a history of the constitution and manners of Rome, but also of the literature: and all this in two moderate volumes. We must in justice confess, that we read it with much interest and instruction; nor do we know any other single book in the language which would supply the same. But it is with regret that we complain of it as hastily got up, and full of petty faults. In appearance it would seem as though the first volume had been sent to the press a month too soon. The narrative is often most obscure* and the style crabbed. Our conviction is that too great condensation has been attempted: it should be rather three volumes than two.—In the early part, the conciseness is sometimes very perplexing:

Thus, p. 53, it is stated: '*We have already related* how the Gauls forced their way into Italy; how by degrees, and constantly reinforced by new immigrations, they approached the Apennines, and, at last, extended their ravages,' &c. &c. This seems to be the recapitulation of some ample narrative; but after much searching of the book we can find only the following short sentence. 'The Lombard branch [of the Etruscans] had long been crushed *by the Gallic expeditions*.

So in p. 66. 'Upper Italy lay *already* desolate:' but what had

* To give one illustration out of fifty. A young friend of ours, on reading the following sentence from vol. i. p. 211: 'The prætor Valerius had collected a considerable number of vessels, *took from the king Oricum*, which he had previously conquered:' supposed that *took* was antique English for *taken*, that Oricum was the king's name, and that the vessels had been captured by Valerius from the aforesaid king. It should be: Valerius collected the vessels, '*and gained possession of Oricum*, which the king had previously conquered.' Another thought it was a misprint for 'king of Oricum,' or king at Oricum.

desolated it, the reader has to guess; and indeed, what is meant by *Upper Italy*; for it can hardly mean Lombardy. The remarkable device of superseding consuls by military tribunes with consular power, for the sake of keeping the plebeians out of the consulate, is not narrated at all; though in one place 'military tribunes' are spoken of, in another we read of 'consular tribunes.' The whole series of important changes in the powers of the tribes comprehended between the laws of Lætorius and of the dictator Publilius are run through in a single short paragraph; in which no allusion is made to the law of Horatius and Valerius; but this law is afterwards given in a note, while the explanation in the text is, 'that the decision of the people should have *more weight* 'than that of both the senate and the consuls—' a vague ordinance indeed; and a strange version of, 'quod tributim plebes jussisset, populum teneret.'

Of the ballot no mention is made at all, although legal and constitutional history is the main subject of the book. There is often a sarcastic and flippant tone, and we think sometimes an unfounded judgment of characters; as of Spurius Cassius, Caius Gracchus and Cicero; against the last of whom the writer seems to be very unduly prejudiced. We find something beneath the dignity of history in antique phrases such as: 'to drive a trade,' 'to figure away,' 'to eschew Menander,' 'eavesdroppers,' 'the nick of time.' In other places, Latinized terms are used with a new meaning; as: 'the efficiency of the tribunes,' meaning the amount of their *power*: 'destined' to mean *designed*: 'spiritual' to mean *intellectual*, as in French: to 'signalize an abuse,' for, to *denounce* it. We dislike such words as 'succumb,' 'a heptera,' 'legate' for lieutenant, 'magnates' for grandees, 'gentes' for clans, 'a pentera,' and numerous other terms, unintelligible to English readers. But it is an ungracious task to amass petty remarks of this kind. A more serious objection would lie against the tone which he assumes concerning 'fate' and 'destiny'; which, coupled with the zealous applause given to the later Stoics, and the great similarity which he finds between their doctrine and that of the Christians (!), makes one fear that he is half a Stoic himself. But we find Mr. Keightley and Niebuhr use 'destiny' to mean 'predestination,' or God's Providence; and we are willing to give the benefit of the supposition to others besides, while we dislike the term. We hope for the author's credit, and for the improvement of the work itself, that it will come to a second edition; for the excellencies are sterling; the defects are in detail and susceptible of amendment.

Dr. Taylor's excellent volume begins from Constantine the Great, and ends with the fall of Constantinople by the Ottoman arms. To review it would therefore carry us far beyond the bounds of any thing that could be contemplated in the present

article: but we have set it by the side of the others, as being kindred in subject and character.

In conclusion, we will venture to recommend more zeal for the pure English language, in writing Roman history, if persons wish to be interesting and intelligible to the unlearned. Greek writers, like the modern Germans, improved their language by resolving to use it for all purposes; but we spoil ours by flying to the foreigner for help the moment a difficulty arises. Just as our Indian travellers annoy their readers by Soobah, Brinjarrie, Nair, Vakeel, Musnud, &c., so do our historians of Rome by such words as Rogation, Gentes, Gentiles, Myth, Curia, Comitia, Plebiscit, Jurisconsult, Magnates, Fecial, &c., &c. We know it will be alleged that the English and Latin words in some cases do not quite coincide. Most true: the Roman *Rex* had not the same rights as the English *King*; but who therefore commits the foppery of leaving the word untranslated? Nay, a false idea is conveyed by Intercession, Legate, and others. We have to complain of both the works before us, for this offence; and we are sorry to say, it has of late become very popular. Fully allowing that there are cases where it cannot be avoided, we wish that it should be regarded as an evil, and admitted as seldom as possible. The Greeks freely translate all the Roman titles, saying *μεσοβασιλεὺς* (mid-king) for the Interrex, in English, Regent; *δήμαρχος* (headman of the commons) for the Tribune of the Plebs, *ἐκκλήσιναι λοχίτιδες* (assemblies of the classes) for the Comitia Centuriata, and so on: and there are comparatively few cases where it is an object to do the same, in which *we* cannot do it. But we think a particular protest is needed against the custom introduced by the translators of Niebuhr, of rendering 'gens,' *a house*, when we have a far more proper word *clan*; nor do we admire 'burgher' for burgess, 'myth' for legend, 'a mythical epos' for a legendary poem. A like decided disapprobation, we think, is deserved by the words 'legate' (which in English means a papal ambassador, not a lieutenant-general nor a delegate) 'rogation' for bill, and 'intercession' for interposition. Nor is there the slightest occasion for Latin words such as *duumviri*, *quinqueviri*, &c., instead of, a board [or Commission] of two,—and of five: nor do we see why assembly or parliament is not quite as good as *comitia*. But not to go farther into detail, let it suffice to have pointed out the principle, that a historian ought not to injure the interest of his subject to the unlearned, by increasing needlessly the number of technical terms, thereby putting a formidable difficulty in the way of the history becoming truly popular.

Art. V. *The Poetical Works of Robert Southey.* Collected by Himself. In 10 vols. Vols. I.—IX. London: Longman and Co. 1838.

IN notifying the commencement of this beautiful edition of Mr. Southey's works to our readers, we intimated our intention of reviewing the whole on its completion. That period is now so near at hand (indeed, the work will be complete on the day that this number of our review appears), that we no longer hesitate to redeem our pledge.

Before we proceed to speak of the attractions of this edition, we shall venture to offer a few remarks on the merits and faults of the author. Those remarks will, for various reasons, be very few and very brief; partly, because his poetical character has been so often discussed before; partly, because its principal peculiarities must be already familiar to our readers; and, partly, because we doubt whether, at present, it would not be a task of almost insuperable difficulty to estimate Mr. Southey's precise merits, or hold the critical balances even; and that, for two reasons.—First, his partizans and his enemies have suffered their views of his political character and history (we are far from saying, consciously) to bias their estimate,—to heighten their eulogy, or to edge their sarcasm. We are fully alive to the melancholy fact, that this is far enough from being the only instance in which politics have been suffered to run riot in the quiet retreats of literature, or in which the bias of party has now mollified and now knit the brow of the critical Rhadamanthus. But we do not suppose there ever was a case in which a poet was so much affected by his political history as Mr. Southey has been. His very worst productions have had their unqualified panegyrists—his very best, almost as unqualified satirists.—The second reason, why it is, perhaps, impossible to form a correct estimate of Southey's genius, is that the daring, and in our eyes, most injudicious innovations which distinguish the structure and conduct of many of his larger poems, and still more his versification, have given too great a shock to our associations to permit us rightly to appreciate the degree of genius by which these efforts have been accompanied; they would certainly, however, lead the generality of readers rather to underrate than overrate that genius.

Owing to these causes, it has been too much the custom to regard this poet's productions—which are certainly very varied, and display great versatility of genius—too much in *the mass*, and to praise or condemn him without due discrimination. It has been entire eulogy, or almost unqualified condemnation; whereas it appears to us, that there seldom was a poet whose best efforts deserve more praise, or whose worst deserve more censure.

It appears to us, that Southey has never done himself justice ; has never reached that reputation which the powers with which nature has gifted him, are fully capable of achieving; and that because he early failed in perceiving the true bent of his genius, and those species of poetical compositions in which he is so well fitted to excel. It is as a *descriptive* poet,—it is in his shorter effusions (always excepting his ‘youthful crudities’ and those unspeakable inanities which he has produced in his character of laureat, and by which he has so well maintained the ancient and professional dulness of that class of poets),—it is in his justly celebrated ballads that his genius is most seen; nor do we ever turn to his ‘Joan of Arc,’ his ‘Madoc,’ his ‘Roderic,’ his ‘Thalaba,’ or his ‘Curse of Kehama’ (on which, with an author’s so often ill-judged estimate of his own efforts, he appears to rely principally for his fame,) without regretting that ambition should ever have induced him to neglect his proper domain, and to aspire after a wider and to him, we are convinced, unattainable empire. In these his longer poems almost the only merit they have is the richness and beauty of the descriptions; more especially of external nature. So great, indeed, is the beauty of many of these descriptions, that, had he attempted a poem which would have given full scope to his powers (like the ‘Task’ of Cowper for instance), in which, while there should be great variety, he need select only such topics as he was qualified to treat well, we have little doubt that his success would have been equal to that of almost any of our great descriptive poets. The reader would not have looked for that which he now naturally expects to find in the above-named ‘Epics,’—for though Mr. Southey rejects the title of ‘Epics,’ they must be critically regarded as such;—he would not have looked for a connected, well-woven, intertexture of *probable* incidents; strongly conceived and well-sustained characters; that intimate knowledge of human nature, and that intensity of emotion which can alone qualify the epic or dramatic writer to forget or lay aside his own individuality, and to assume that of the creations of his own fancy. His genius would have had free play; might have expatiated at will where it was strong, and have sequestered itself from those walks of art in which it must appear to disadvantage. In a word, we regard Mr. Southey’s merits as a descriptive poet, very great indeed,—as an epic poet, very low. In his epic poems, we look in vain for those qualities which have always been regarded, and always will be, as the highest in that very difficult species of composition. We can see nothing of artful fable, of that combination of invention and judgment which reconciles apparent impossibilities,—the most daring creations of fancy with a just regard to the laws of poetic probability; still less, do we see of that power of strongly defining character, and expressing passion, which are no less required in the epic and dra-

matic poet;—that power of self-oblivion—of thinking with the mind and feeling with the heart of the characters represented to us. When Mr. Southey in his lighter and shorter pieces speaks in his own person, and from the prompting of his own feelings, we generally find — though he is habitually apt to be too copious and diffusive—that freshness, warmth, and spontaneity, that vivacity of thought, sentiment, and diction which are ever found in the true poet; nor is there any reader we should conceive but must at once detect the difference of manner and style, when he compares these with the long, and to us inexpressibly heavy pages of ‘*Madoc*’ or ‘*Roderic*.’ It might, at first, be thought that he who could give simple and earnest expression to his own thoughts and feelings would be equally successful in giving utterance to those of fictitious characters—of the combinations of intellect and passion which fancy has called into existence. But fact and experience plainly prove, that this would be a rash conclusion; that he who is quite equal to the one may be utterly unequal to the other; and that the interval is great between the descriptive, and the epic or dramatic poet. The ‘*Seasons*’ of Thompson is a descriptive poem of the highest order; his tragedy takes comparatively low rank. Gray and Collins are lyric poets of great merit;—we have not the slightest reason to believe that they could have produced a drama even of second-rate excellence. And as fact and experience are opposed to this conclusion, so it requires no great sagacity to detect the reason. The epic or dramatic poet not only requires greater variety, flexibility, and compass of powers, but, even, where the powers are the same (as to a great extent they must be), they are demanded in a higher degree; there must be greater richness of invention, greater vividness of conceptions, above all, greater intensity of feeling, and activity of sympathy. In this last peculiarity more than any thing else, we apprehend, consists the secret of great dramatic power. Most men in moments of real feeling can give utterance to their own emotions; but how very few are those who can attain such vivid conceptions of the emotions which fill another’s bosom as to give adequate expression to them!

This is the *principal* reason, we conceive, why ‘*Madoc*’ and ‘*Roderic*’ appear so wearisome. The poet is literally ‘building the lofty’ verse; and, as we watch the slow accumulation of sentiments, images, and reflections, the idea of toilsome fabrication is the one chiefly suggested. They do not seem to be the natural out-pouring of self-prompted genius, but to be dug from the quarry and shaped and hewn, and raised to their places, by mechanical appliances. We do not know that we can do better than request the reader to peruse a few pages of ‘*Joan of Arc*,’ or of ‘*Madoc*,’ and then one or two of our poet’s shorter and lighter pieces. The difference, we cannot but think,

must strike the most ordinary reader; if he do not perceive it, we have nothing more to say; it is an appeal to every one's consciousness, and there we must leave it. We have no doubt, however, that ninety-nine readers out of every hundred, will sympathise with us.

We have said that Mr. Southey's epics are deficient in all the great requisites which the concurrent voice of all critics and all readers has demanded in this species of composition; in a well-constructed fable—a fable which shall not wantonly violate poetic probability; in discrimination of character; in the exhibition of passion. Of the two last, we have already spoken. As to the first, no attentive reader of Mr. Southey can fail to perceive his deficiencies; his gross inconsistencies—his long and needless episodes—his wanton accumulation of improbabilities—his 'passages that lead to nothing.' As his episodes even when complete often have nothing whatever to do with the main action, so there is not wanting an instance (we believe, even in Mr. Southey *unique*,) in which what any reader would take for the main action is *incomplete*; after entangling our interest in a mesh of incidents, he leaves us to find our way out how we please. This is the case in 'Madoc,' nor do we know of a more striking proof of the disorderly ill-compacted manner in which our poet's fictions are framed. In the first part of the above poem, by far the principal interest is suspended on a train of events left in progress,—unfinished,—and to which not the slightest allusion is made in the second and concluding part of the poem. As to 'Thalaba' and 'Curse of Kehama' a defence has been sometimes set up on the ground, that the poet had expressly availed himself of all the license of oriental fiction and all the monstrous machinery of oriental mythology. He appears, therefore, to have escaped beyond the empire of criticism; to have absolved himself from the necessity of preserving probability, because, in truth, there was no probability to be preserved. But this is no adequate defence; for amidst the most wild and wonderful creations of fancy—amidst the employment of magic, necromancy, and all sorts of preternatural agencies, celestial and infernal, the laws of poetic probability still pursue their claim, and forbid the needless accumulation of childish extravagancies, or the wanton multiplication of prodigies: while amidst those which are introduced, it demands keeping—coherence—consistency. If it be otherwise, the prime difficulties of art vanish at once, and the chief merits of the artist with them. The only feeling that is excited in the reader is that of staring wonder, and the only merit such composition can possess, so far as the fiction is concerned, is much upon a level with that of a good magic-lantern.

As we are now speaking of 'Thalaba' and the 'Curse of

'Kehama,' this may be no unfit opportunity of offering one or two remarks on the singular metre, or as some would call it the mockery of all metre, in which these poems are composed. That these daring modes of versification are often employed by Mr. Southey with great effect; that in the management of them he has frequently displayed a command over language truly wonderful, and not seldom succeeded in giving an imitative character to the expression—an adaptation of the sound to the sentiment it embodies—which none of our regular metres could have secured, we are ready to admit. Still, upon the whole, these measures exhibit a deficiency of harmony, and by their great irregularity, are continually deceiving and teasing the ear—balking expectation; and thus their very variety, which at first would seem to obviate every such result, is the very cause of their wearying us. Mr. Southey, indeed, tells us, that 'one advantage this metre assuredly possesses; the dullest reader cannot distort it into discord: he may read it 'prosaically, but its flow and fall will still be perceptible.' We confess, we have arrived at just the opposite conclusion; the want of the regular recurrence and uniform march of the ordinary metres, appears to us to render it far more difficult to read it well: and the changes are often so varied, so frequent and abrupt, that, we believe, they would balk the most practised ear.

It is not unworthy of remark, that the most musical lines, and those which often alone sustain the rhythm and harmony of the whole stanza, are the regular tensyllable verse, so frequently introduced. Many stanzas (in our estimation, nearly all the most perfect) consist almost wholly of heroic verse. Take the very first in 'Thalaba.'

'How beautiful is night!
A dewy freshness fills the silent air;
No mist obscures, nor cloud, nor speck, nor stain,
 Breaks the serene of heaven:
In full-orb'd glory yonder moon divine
Rolls through the dark blue depths.
 Beneath her steady ray
 The desert-circle spreads,
Like the round ocean, girdled with the sky.
 How beautiful is night!

Upon the whole the success of this experiment has been far from being great enough to lead us to wish that it may be repeated either by Mr. Southey or any poets who may follow him. It is but just, however, to Mr. Southey, to say that he disclaims any preference abstractedly for these irregular metres over the regular blank verse, and that he adopted them in these two poems, on account of a supposed adaptation to the subject. Of this, there may well be ground for difference of opinion. Still it is a satisfaction

to know that his opinions with regard to the most excellent species of English verse are much like those of other poets. In his preface to his fourth edition of 'Thalaba' (we presume that he would say the same of the versification of the 'Curse of Kehama') he observes, 'let me not be supposed to prefer the rhythm in which it is written, abstractedly considered, to the regular blank verse; the noblest measure, in my judgment, of which our admirable language is capable. For the following poem I have preferred it, because it suits the varied subject: it is the *Arabesque* ornament of an Arabian tale.'

We have already expressed an opinion, that Mr. Southey's great merit consists in description, and that he is by nature fitted to be a descriptive poet of the highest order. We must confess, however, that even his descriptions (exquisitely beautiful as they often are) are very frequently too diffuse, and copious, and are thus, in some measure, infected with that taint of tediousness, that 'langweiligkeit,' as the Germans would call it, which attends us in reading even the most pleasing of his longer poems. They want compression—concentration. We rarely meet with those strong and pregnant metaphors which convey in a single word what many poets would express in several lines; nor do we often find, that he gives the impression of a scene by judiciously seizing two or three prominent circumstances as representatives of a number of associated circumstances (and it is in this way that the greatest poets have chiefly manifested their descriptive power), but by minute and elaborate painting, in which the variety of almost equally attractive objects leaves the imagination of the reader nothing to concentrate itself upon, and little or nothing to supply. We do not know that we can illustrate our meaning better, than by citing the following lines from the fifteenth section of 'Madoc.'

'And hard by Bangor now,
Travelling the plain before them they espy
A lordly cavalcade, for so it seem'd,
Of knights, with hawk in hand and hounds in leash,
Squires, pages, serving-men, and armed grooms,
And many a sumpter-beast and laden wain,
Far following in the rear. The bravery
Of glittering bauldricks and of high-plumed crests,
Embroider'd surcoats and emblazon'd shields
And lances whose long streamers play'd aloft,
Made a rare pageant, as with sound of trump,
Tambour and cittern, proudly they went on;
And ever, at the foot-fall of their steeds,
The tinkling horse-bells, in rude symphony,
Accorded with the joy.'

Another circumstance, which we apprehend has added to the

diffuseness and the consequent tediousness of much of Mr. Southey's poetry, is the habit in which he has indulged, much beyond any other poet, as far as we can recollect, of repeating what he deems emphatic words or phrases twice or even thrice over,—or even whole lines. If this be supposed to add to the energy of the sentiment, or to indicate profound emotion on the part of the poet, we apprehend that it is a great mistake. The expedient very rarely fails to produce (at least upon our minds) a cold, formal, constrained, and artificial effect. We do not know that we can give a stronger illustration of our meaning than by citing the following stanza, from his strange ode, called 'The Warning Voice.' We acknowledge that it is an example of extreme depravity of taste even in Mr. Southey. It looks very much, not as though the poet was under the influence of poetic inspiration at the time he wrote, but as though he was lashing and scourging himself into a sort of dithyrambic fury.

Woe ! woe !

Woe to the city where faction reigns !

Woe to the land where sedition prevails !

Woe to the nation whom hell deceives !

Woe ! woe !

They have eyes, and they will not see !

They have ears and they will not hear !

They have hearts, and they will not feel !

Woe to the people who fasten their eyes !

Woe to the people who deafen their ears !

Woe to the people who harden their hearts !

Woe ! woe !

The vials are charged ;

The measure is full,

The wrath is ripe !

Woe ! woe !

Bow, wow, wow, we imagine we hear some critic of the *cynic* school exclaim, after listening to this burst of detestable fustian.

There are very few poets whose reading has been so extensive as that of Mr. Southey, and fewer still who have made so profuse a use of it. He seems to have carefully marked in his own wide and multifarious studies every thing that could by possibility be turned to the purposes of poetical effect, or be made the groundwork of picturesque description ; and innumerable are the instances in which he has given us in his copious notes (and often as it appears to us, with superfluous honesty) the rude germ of some of his richest and most fanciful descriptions. Much as he has observed nature, he appears to us to have been far more conversant with books. While in the generality of poets, nature has occupied the first place, and books the second ; in him, the matter seems to have been reversed : and books seem to have

done more for him than nature. It must be confessed, that he must have read them with a most attentive eye, and that the manner in which he has made use of them indicates great vividness of conception; for, probably, there is no other instance on record in which a poet, from books alone, has been enabled to give so natural and life-like a picture of scenery, manners, and costume on which the poet's eye has never rested, as Mr. Southey has given in his 'Thalaba' and 'Curse of Kehama.' We question whether there ever was an imagination which has been so much stimulated by mere reading.

At the same time, if this enhances his merit, in one respect, it diminishes it in another, for there are few great poets, we think, who have drawn so little upon their own pure fancy. Great as Mr. Southey's merit is in working up some rude and often trivial thought of one or other of his favourite authors, it is comparatively rare that he does not refer us to some remote hint—some obscure passage in some ancient or foreign author, which, in the first instance, served to stimulate his imagination—some nucleus around which his fancy has proceeded to drop its crystallizations. His obligations are, however, in general so very slender, that we could well have spared the mention of them. His notes, indeed, are beyond all precedent voluminous, and occupy, we imagine, nearly three volumes out of the ten of the present edition.

The diction of Mr. Southey displays a ready and copious command over all the treasures of our various and powerful language. It is, indeed, occasionally too familiar, and occasionally too learned; such words as '*alb*,' '*striated*,' '*thuribule*,' though they form a part of our scientific vocabulary, are not *poetical*. His faults, however, in this kind are rare. His diction is generally distinguished by great purity, dignity, and elegance.

Whatever deductions may be made from Mr. Southey's merits on the score of deficiencies of judgment and of taste;—however we may regret that his powers have been misdirected, and sometimes wasted;—however we may lament that his very facility in composition appears to have been a temptation to him, and vainly wish that he had written about half as much, and been twice as long about it, none can deny him powers of a very high order; and so great in particular are his powers of description, and that in every department of nature, as well as in all the more quiet and placid scenes of human life—such his skill in expressing the more gentle and tender emotions, that we are convinced, had he concentrated his powers on the production of some great poem descriptive of nature and of common life, he might have achieved a work which would have taken rank with the 'Task' of Cowper.

To give extracts from Southey's longer poems in vindication of the praise we have bestowed, would be very superfluous. They

have been long before the public, and extensively read. Yet we cannot refrain from giving two or three short passages, rather by way of enriching our own pages, and of reviving the recollections of some of our readers who have not looked into these poems for some time, than as at all necessary to substantiate our criticisms.

The extracts we shall give, shall be the least hackneyed. Some have been so often cited, that to cite them again would look almost ridiculous. Madoc on the sea-beach revolving with Cadwallon, the possible discovery of the western world; the gorgeous description of the submerged city of Baly; the meeting of Kailyal with her departed mother in the divine retreat of Mount Meru; the lines beginning,

‘They sin, who tell us love can die;’

or those kindred lines apostrophizing the souls of departed innocents, beginning,

‘Innocent souls! thus set so early free,’

must be well known to most of our readers.

But the following will nearly match them. Let us take the brief description of perfect solitude, as uttered by the lips of Aswad, the lonely dweller in the gorgeous but life-deserted palace of Shedad. It is true, that the whole episode of which it forms a part (as is so often the case in Mr. Southey's tales), has little enough to do with the progress of the story. But of this we are not speaking; we are looking at it as an insulated description, and as such we think it impossible for any susceptible mind to read it without a strong feeling of its beauty.

‘Oh! who can tell the unspeakable misery
Of solitude like this!
No sound has ever reach'd my ear
Save of the passing wind,
The fountain's everlasting flow,
The forest in the gale,
The pattering of the shower,
Sounds dead and mournful all.
No bird hath ever closed her wing
Upon these solitary bowers,
No insect sweetly buzz'd amid these groves,
From all things that have life,
Save only me, conceal'd.
This tree alone, that o'er my head
Hangs down its hospitable boughs,
And bends its whispering leaves
As though to welcome me,
Seems to partake of life;
I love it as my friend, my only friend!’

Or take the following description of Thalaba's life in the tent of Moath, with his fair daughter Oneiza. We wish we could find room for the whole.

'Tis the cool evening hour :
 The tamarind from the dew
 Sheathes its young fruit, yet green,
 Before their tent the mat is spread,
 Yet through the purple glow of eve
 Shines dimly the white moon.
 The slacken'd bow, the quiver, the long lance
 Rest on the pillar of the tent.
 Knitting light palm-leaves for her brother's brow,
 The dark-eyed damsel sits ;
 The old man tranquilly
 Up his curl'd pipe inhales
 The tranquillizing herb.
 So listen they the reed of Thalaba
 While his skill'd fingers modulate,
 The low, sweet, soothing, melancholy tones.
 She called him brother ; was it sister-love
 For which the silver rings
 Round her smooth ankles and her tawny arms
 Shone daily brighten'd ? For a brother's eye.
 " Were her long fingers tinged,
 As when she trimm'd the lamp,
 And through the veins and delicate skin
 The light shone rosy ? That the darken'd lids
 Gave yet a softer lustre to her eye ?
 That with such pride she trick'd
 Her glossy tresses, and on holy-day
 Wreathed the red flower-crown round
 Their waves of glossy jet ?
 How happily the days
 Of Thalaba went by !
 Years of his youth, how rapidly ye fled !'

The following lines are part of the description of the 'Retreat' of Ladurlad and Kailyal, in the 'Curse of Kehama.' We wish we could find space for the magnificent picture of the Banian tree by which it is preceded.

' A brook, with easy current, murmur'd near ;
 Water so cool and clear
 The peasants drink not from the humble well,
 Which they with sacrifice of rural pride,
 Have wedded to the cocoa-grove beside ;

Fed by perpetual springs, a small lagoon,
 Pellucid, deep, and still, in silence join'd,
 And swelled the passing stream. Like burnish'd steel
 Glowing, it lay beneath the eye of noon ;
 And when the breezes in their play,
 Ruffled the darkening surface, then with gleam
 Of sudden light, around the lotus stem
 It rippled, and the sacred flowers that crown
 The lakelet with their roseate beauty, ride
 In easy waving rock'd from side to side ;
 And as the wind upheaves
 Their broad and buoyant weight, the glossy leaves
 Flap on the twinkling waters, up and down.'

The following passage in which Madoc makes the unexpected discovery of the child of his slaughtered brother Hoel, (dwelling with his mother in the lonely mountain-hut,) closes with an image of great sweetness and beauty.

'When Madoc came,
 A little child was sporting by the brook,
 Floating the fallen leaves, that he might see them
 Whirl in the eddy now, and now be driven
 Down the descent, now on the smoother stream
 Sail onward far away. But when he heard
 The horse's tramp, he raised his head and watch'd
 The prince, who now dismounted and drew nigh.
 The little boy still fix'd his eyes on him,
 His bright blue eyes; the wind just mov'd the curls
 That cluster'd round his brow ; and so he stood,
 His rosy cheeks still lifted up to gaze
 In innocent wonder. Madoc took his hand,
 And now had ask'd his name, and if he dwelt
 There in the hut—when from that cottage-door
 A woman came, who seeing Madoc stopt
 With such a fear,—for she had cause for fear,—
 As when a bird returning to her nest,
 Turns to a tree beside, if she behold
 Some prying boy too near the dear retreat.'

The following is a brief but beautiful description of a country just reclaimed by civilization :

'Flourishing
 He left the happy vale ; and now he saw
 More fields reclaim'd, more habitations rear'd,
 More harvests rising round. The reptile race,
 And every beast of rapine, had retired
 From man's asserted empire ; and the sound
 Of axe and dashing oar, and fisher's net,

And song beguiling toil, and pastoral pipe
 Were heard, where late the solitary hills
 Gave only to the mountain-cataract
 Their wild response.'

Nor must we omit the following lines descriptive of the evening in India:

'Evening comes on: arising from the stream
 Homeward the tall flamingo wings his flight;
 And where he sails athwart the setting beam,
 His scarlet plumage glows with deeper light.
 The watchman, at the wish'd approach of night,
 Gladly forsakes the field, where he all day,
 To scare the winged plunderers from their prey,
 With shout and sling, on yonder clay-built height,
 Hath borne the sultry ray.
 Hark! at the golden palaces,
 The Brahim strikes the hour.
 For leagues and leagues around, the brazen sound
 Rolls through the stillness of departing day,
 Like thunder far away.'

The pieces, however, which in our opinion are most imbued with genius, or at all events with that originality, vigour, and spontaneity which peculiarly express genius, are the metrical ballads and other light pieces. Here usually the appearance of effort—the not infrequent affectation—the redundancy and diffuseness—the elaborated common-place—the too often fruitless strivings after effect, which are found in the longer poems, are found no more;—all is simplicity, freshness, facility, nature. Our poet may perhaps despise us for the expression of such feelings, but we deliberately declare, that if we might save about forty pages of beautiful description from 'Madoc,'—about twice as many more from 'Roderic'—and a somewhat larger portion of 'Thalaba' and the 'Curse of Kehama,' we would sooner part with the whole of the rest of those poems than with the ballads of 'St. Michael's Chair,' 'The Inchcape Rock,' 'The Well of St. Keyne,' 'The Old Woman of Berkeley,' 'The True Ballad of St. Antidius, the Pope, and the Devil,' 'Queen Mary's Christening,' 'The Pious Painter,' and 'The Battle of Blenheim;' and we confess we should be quite as loath to part with the 'March to Moscow' and the 'Cataract of Lodore.' At the close of the sixth volume is a ballad called the 'Young Dragon,' in four parts, (composed as late as the year 1829,) which the poet seems to have read at his own fire-side. The following little 'epilogue' to this piece is one of the most beautiful light poems which has ever fallen from Southey's pen:

‘ I told my tale of the Holy Thumb
That split the dragon asunder,
And my daughters made great eyes as they heard,
Which were full of delight and wonder.

With listening lips, and looks intent,
There sate an eager boy,
Who shouted sometimes, and clapt his hands,
And could not sit still for joy.

But when I look’d at my mistress’s face,
It was all too grave the while ;
And when I ceased, methought there was more
Of reproof than of praise in her smile.

That smile I read aright, for thus
Reproachingly said she,
‘ Such tales are meet for youthful ears,
But give little content to me.

From thee far rather would I hear
Some sober, sadder lay,
Such as I oft have heard well pleased
Before those locks were grey.’

‘ Nay, mistress mine,’ I made reply,
‘ The autumn hath its flowers,
Nor ever is the sky more gay
Than in its evening hours.

Our good old cat, Earl Tomlemagne,
Upon a warm Spring day,
Even like a kitten at its sport,
Is sometimes seen to play.

That sense which held me back in youth
From all intemperate gladness,
That same good instinct bids me shun
Unprofitable sadness.

Nor marvel you if I prefer
Of playful themes to sing,
The October grove hath brighter tints
Than Summer or than Spring.

For o’er the leaves before they fall,
Such hues hath nature thrown,
That the woods wear in sunless days
A sunshine of their own.

Why should I seek to call forth tears ?
The source from whence we weep
Too near the surface lies in youth ;
In age it lies too deep.

Enough of foresight sad, too much
Of retrospect have I ;
And well for me that I sometimes
Can put those feelings by.

That I can sport in tales which suit
Young auditors like these,
Yet, if I err not, may content
The few I seek to please.

I know the eyes in which the light
Of memory will appear ;
I know the lips which while they read
Will wear a smile sincere.

The hearts to which my sportive song
The thought of days will bring,
When they and I, whose winter now
Comes on, were in our Spring.

And I their well-known voices too,
Though far away, can hear,
Distinctly, even as when in dreams
They reach the inward ear.

' There speaks the man we knew of yore ;'
Well pleased I hear them say,
' Such was he in his lighter moods,
Before our heads were grey.

Buoyant he was in spirit, quick
Of fancy, blithe of heart,
And care and time and change have left
Untouch'd his better part.'

Thus say my morning friends who now
Are in the vale of years ;
And I, save such as thus may rise,
Would draw no other tears.''

On the whole, we regard Mr. Southey as a poet of more genius than taste—of more learning than judgment—of great but sadly mis-directed powers. His fancy and imagination are active rather than beautiful ; luxuriant rather than strong. He has ever been attracted by an extravagant and almost childish admiration of external pomp, glitter, and magnificence, with but little apparent sensibility for the morally sublime. He delights in the most absurd and grotesque combinations—in the accumulation of all kinds of *material* prodigies, marvels, and horrors however incongruous, impossible, or disgusting. He seems never to have lost the child's love of outward gauds and glittering colours, or the *fee-faw-fum* taste as to the sublime and the terrible. In a word, with an almost unrivalled facility in brilliant description, he has the

smallest possible qualifications for writing *epic* poetry, or any fictions constructed on similar principles and involving like conditions. Hence, in attempting such compositions, he has ever placed himself under the most disadvantageous circumstances; nay, his very fancy, perverted from its proper uses, and employed in decorating gross absurdities, has tended in some respects only to render his errors and failures the more glaring. Rightly to appreciate his genius, as displayed in his longer poems, we must abstract our minds from the vices of the story; and selecting the finest descriptive passages, read them detached and insulated, look at them just as we should at the series of paintings in a picture gallery.

But it is time that we should say a few words of the present edition of the works of this voluminous and versatile poet. Its external attractions are great. Each volume is accompanied by two engravings in the highest style of art, while every thing in the *getting up*, as the publishers call it, corresponds in elegance. The first volume contains 'Joan of Arc,' and the 'Vision of the Maid of Orleans.' The second, a great variety of miscellaneous poems, and amongst the rest the notable 'Wat Tyler.' The third also contains miscellaneous poems, and amongst the rest the well-known 'Devil's Walk' and 'Cataract of Lodore,' as well as the laureate effusions. The fourth contains 'Thalaba;' the fifth 'Madoc;' the sixth (which we apprehend will be most frequently opened) the 'Ballads and Metrical Tales;' the seventh, 'The Tale of Paraguay,' 'All for Love,' and 'The Pilgrim to Compostella;' the eighth, 'The Curse of Kehama;' and the ninth, 'Roderic.'

The first volume contains a general preface to this new edition, giving an account of Mr. Southey's reasons for thus judiciously becoming his own Editor. The grounds which he has assigned for including all his published poems, not excepting what he calls 'the crude compositions of his youth,' (though for our own parts, we know of nothing more crude than his laureate odes,) must be admitted; still we confess we have doubts, whether the fear of pirated editions, notwithstanding the itching curiosity of the public for what is suppressed, be not at this time of day very superfluous. He must be an adventurous bookseller who would now publish 'Wat Tyler,' or the 'Vision of Judgment,' alone. A portion of the general preface we shall extract.

'At the age of sixty-three I have undertaken to collect and edit my Poetical Works, with the last corrections that I can expect to bestow upon them. They have obtained a reputation equal to my wishes; and I have this ground for hoping it may not be deemed hereafter more than commensurate with their deserts, that it has been gained without ever accommodating myself to the taste or fashion of

the times. Thus to collect and revise them is a duty which I owe to that part of the public by whom they have been auspiciously received, and to those who will take a lively concern in my good name when I shall have departed.

‘The arrangement was the first thing to be considered. In this the order wherein the respective poems were written has been observed, so far as was compatible with a convenient classification. Such order is useful to those who read critically, and desire to trace the progress of an author’s mind in his writings; and by affixing dates to the minor pieces, under whatever head they are disposed, the object is sufficiently attained.

‘Next came the question of correction. There was no difficulty with those poems which were composed after the author had acquired his art (so far as he has acquired it), and after his opinions were matured. It was only necessary to bear in mind the risk there must ever be of injuring a poem by verbal alterations made long after it was written; inasmuch as it must be impossible to recall the precise train of thought in which any passage was conceived, and the considerations upon which not the single verse alone, but the whole sentence, or paragraph, had been constructed: but with regard to more important changes, there could be no danger of introducing any discrepance in style. With juvenile pieces the case is different. From these the faults of diction have been weeded, wherever it could be done without more trouble than the composition originally cost, and than the piece itself was worth. But inherent faults of conception and structure are incurable; and it would have been mere waste of time to recompose what it was impossible otherwise to amend.

‘If these poems had been now for the first time to be made public, there are some among them which, instead of being committed to the press, would have been consigned to the flames; not for any disgrace which could be reflected upon me by the crude compositions of my youth, nor for any harm which they could possibly do the reader, but merely that they might not cumber the collection. But, *‘nescit vox missa reverti.’* Pirated editions would hold out as a recommendation, that they contained what I had chosen to suppress, and thus it becomes prudent, and therefore proper, that such pieces should be retained.’

Most of the other volumes contain some prefatory matter. This matter is usually very interesting, and it is now and then enlivened by anecdotes told in that elegant prose style on which after all Mr. Southey must principally rely for his fame with posterity. The following anecdotes in his preface to ‘*Madoc*,’ are too good to be suppressed.

‘This poem was the means of making me personally acquainted with Miss Seward. Her encomiastic opinion of it was communicated to me through Charles Lloyd, in a way which required some courteous acknowledgment, and an invitation to Lichfield, where accordingly, I paid her a visit, when next on my way to London, in 1807. She re-

sided in the Bishop's palace. I was ushered up the broad brown staircase by her cousin, the Rev. Henry White, then one of the minor canons of that cathedral, a remarkable person, who introduced me into the presence with jubilant but appalling solemnity. Miss Seward was seated at her desk. She had just finished some verses to be 'inscribed on the blank leaves of the poem *Madoc*,' and the first greeting was no sooner past than she requested that I would permit her to read them to me. It was a mercy that she did not ask me to read them aloud. But she read admirably herself. The situation in which I found myself was so ridiculous, and I was so apprehensive of catching the eye of one person in the room, who was equally afraid of meeting mine, that I never felt it more difficult to control my emotions, than while listening, or seeming to listen, to my own praise and glory. But, bending my head as if in a posture of attentiveness, and screening my face with my hand, and occasionally using some force to compress the risible muscles, I got through the scene without any misbehaviour, and expressed my thanks, if not in terms of such glowing admiration as she was accustomed to receive from others, and had bestowed upon my unworthy self, yet as well as I could. I passed two days under her roof, and corresponded with her from that time till her death.

'Miss Seward had been crippled by having repeatedly injured one of her knee-pans. Time had taken away her bloom and her beauty, but her fine countenance retained its animation, and her eyes could not have been brighter nor more expressive in her youth. Sir Walter Scott says of them, 'they were auburn of the precise shade and hue of her hair. In reciting, or in speaking with animation, they appeared to become darker, and as it were to flash fire. I should have hesitated,' he adds, 'to state the impression which this peculiarity made upon me at the time, had not my observation been confirmed by that of the first actress on this or any other stage, with whom I lately happened to converse on our deceased friend's expressive powers of countenance.' Sir Walter has not observed that this peculiarity was hereditary. Describing in one of her earliest letters a scene with her mother, she says, 'I grew so saucy to her, that she looked grave, and took her pinch of snuff, first at one nostril and then at the other, with swift and angry energy, and her eyes began to grow dark and to flash. 'Tis an odd peculiarity; but the balls of my mother's eyes change from brown into black, when she feels either indignation or bodily pain.'

'Miss Seward was not so much over-rated at one time, as she has since been unduly depreciated. She was so considerable a person when her reputation was at its height, that Washington said no circumstance in his life had been so mortifying to him as that of having been made the subject of her invective in her monody on Major André. After peace had been concluded between Great Britain and the United States, he commissioned an American officer, who was about to sail for England, to call upon her at Lichfield, and explain to her, that instead of having caused André's death he had endeavoured to save him; and she was requested to peruse the papers in proof of this, which he sent for her perusal. 'They filled me with contrition,' says Miss Seward, 'for the rash injustice of my censure.'

Here we must close our remarks. We take leave of Mr. Southey with unfeigned respect for his genius. Whatever the defects of his poetry may be, its beauties are such, that this edition can hardly fail to find a place in the library of every man fond of elegant literature.

Art. VI. *Papers Relating to the Measures adopted by the Legislatures of Barbadoes, Montserrat, Nevis, Virgin Islands, St. Christopher, and St. Vincent, for the Abolition of the Apprenticeship on the 1st of August, 1838. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, June 26, 1838.*

THE cause of humanity has triumphed! The Abolitionists of Great Britain have succeeded in their truly noble effort. This nation is called upon to offer devout thanks to God, on account of the unexampled success which has been granted to the labours of those, who nine months ago entered on a course of peaceful agitation to effect the extinction of the vile system of negro apprenticeship. The freedom of half a million of their fellow-creatures has been given them as their reward. The glorious results of their exertions are calculated to rebuke the timidity of those who counselled peace and foretold defeat, and to humble and instruct the men, who from their high places looked down with scorn upon the gathering of 'the sacramental host,' declaring in their pride and power their determination to 'stifle' the holy excitement. When these lines shall be read, negro apprenticeship will have ceased in the islands of Tortola, Montserrat, Nevis, the Bahamas, Tobago, Dominica, St. Christopher, St. Vincent, Grenada, Barbadoes, and Jamaica; and we believe also in Honduras, St. Lucia, Trinidad, and British Guiana.

With what rapture will the First of August be hailed in the West Indies! On that auspicious day, thousands of husbands will be restored to their wives—mothers will be free to nurse and provide for their children, and old and young will rejoice together in the termination of a system which made them the victims of a cruel mockery, and an insatiate avarice. And here we may well pause for a moment, to inquire by what means this victory has been obtained. Through a willing government, kindly and promptly co-operating with a generous and humane public? No. By the authority of the legislature, exerted in obedience to the expressed will of every constituency in the kingdom? No. Appeals to government there have been, but they have been disregarded and resisted. Petitions to parliament, urgent and endless there have been, but they have been set aside with indiffe-

rence and disgust. Prayers have been offered at the foot of the throne—the sympathy of a maiden queen has been invoked—but our young sovereign has never been advised by those about her person, to reap gratitude and glory, by granting the wish of her loyal and loving people. The victory has been achieved by the unaided power of truth—by the irresistible might of public opinion, brought to bear upon the fears and interests, and we believe upon the consciences too in many cases, of the far-off colonies themselves. The work has been prosecuted in the belief that so just a cause could not but prosper if espoused by such a nation as this, and in reliance upon Him, who, when forgotten and set at nought by rulers and legislators, is able to accomplish, by the humblest instruments, his benign purposes, and cause even the wrath of wicked men to contribute ultimately to his praise. In the most unpromising seasons we have been hopeful and assured; and though recent events have in some respects exceeded even *our* anticipations, we have looked with confidence to see that day of freedom which now dawns upon the dwelling of the negro, and gladdens the banks of the Essequibo and the islands of the greater and lesser Antilles. Most justly did Lord Brougham observe upon a recent occasion, when describing the feelings with which he had pursued his anti-slavery labours, that ‘even when his mind had been most depressed by the prospect before him, and the circumstances around him, he had never for an instant felt a doubt of the ultimate success of the cause. At all times he had had to support him, the public mind of the country. At all times he had marked the question as gloriously distinguished from all others. It lulled and laid asleep for the occasion, every difference of political opinion, every religious or sectarian animosity, every feeling of a factious or violent character; while humanity, and sound policy, and the Christian principle of the country, were all aroused and called into full and active energy. This it was that had kept up his spirits and sustained his mind, even when outnumbered by the representatives of the people in the ratio of three and four to one.’

Let us advert to the state of the population in the slave colonies in the month of July, 1834. We have with much care compiled from official sources the following table, which will exhibit the total number of slaves for whom compensation was received, and also show the manner in which they were divided, and the number belonging to each class :

	Prædials.	Non-Prædials.	Children under six years.	Aged and Non-Effective.	Total.
CHARTERED COLONIES.					
Jamaica.....	218,456	36,384	39,013	16,767	311,070
Barbadoes.....	52,193	14,445	14,732	1,780	83,150
Antigua.....	20,368	2,982	4,327	1,444	29,121
Grenada.....	16,940	2,069	3,320	1,309	23,638
St. Vincent.	15,309	2,805	2,963	1,189	22,266
St. Christopher.....	12,601	3,066	3,198	915	19,780
Dominica.....	10,465	1,199	2,113	398	14,175
Tobago.....	8,266	812	1,479	1,032	11,589
Bahamas.....	4,290	3,444	2,053	299	10,086
Nevis.....	5,299	1,926	1,261	329	8,815
Montserrat.....	4,510	516	1,145	230	6,401
Virgin Islands.....	3,416	902	749	68	5,135
Bermuda.....	18	3,296	606	106	4,026
CROWN COLONIES.					
British Guiana.....	63,282	6,297	9,893	3,352	82,824
Mauritius—.....	34,424	22,275	7,612	2,302	66,613
Cape of Good Hope		30,010	5,732		35,742
Trinidad.	13,773	3,766	2,246	872	20,657
St. Lucia.....	8,723	1,605	1,957	1,006	13,291
Honduras.....	810	778	224	90	1,902
Total. .	493,143	139,027	104,623	33,488	770,281

To the above may be added the free coloured population in 1834, say..... 165,000
Whites, say..... 130,000

Total amount of population in the above colonies. . 1065,281

Such was the state of the slave colonies on the 31st of July, 1834. On the 1st of August, 1834, the children of slaves under six years of age were declared free, leaving 665,648 above that age in the relation of apprentices. Of these, 139,027 being classed non-prædials, were entitled to their freedom on the 1st of August, 1838, leaving the various descriptions of prædials, amounting to 526,621, to remain in servitude till the 1st of August, 1840. The friends of the negro, aware, from the best authority, of the grievous and oppressive character of the apprenticeship, resolved to make a great effort to effect the emancipation of the prædial apprentices on the day fixed for the freedom of the non-prædials. Their labours, their defeats, and their successes, are alike with-

out a parallel in the annals of philanthropic exertion. During the short space of eight months, three meetings of delegates, and five immense public meetings were held in the metropolis, besides innumerable public meetings and lectures in every part of the kingdom. Thus much of their labours. In the cabinet and the legislature (with one exception, the majority of three, upon the motion of Sir Eardley Wilmot,) they met with successive defeats, and were at last doomed to see the question dismissed for the present Session, by the adoption of Lord Glenelg's Bill, and the virtual revocation, by ministerial agency, of the decision of the Commons on the 22nd of May. The treatment experienced by the abolitionists at the hands of the Government, and the representatives of the people, we believe to be without an example. Long ought it to be referred to, to guide the electors of this empire in their future choice of those who shall be raised to a position in which they may, if disposed, overrule the will of the people, however reasonable and righteous their demand, and however strongly fortified by the previous payment of their money for the thing for which they pray. Deeply shall we lament, if, in the general rejoicing which the overthrow of the apprenticeship will occasion, the heartless and wicked conduct of her Majesty's ministers, and their pliant majorities, is suffered to pass into oblivion. Their speeches, their votes and their Acts, should be placed in imperishable record, side by side with the high achievements of the indomitable champions of the oppressed, that posterity may be warned from placing dependence on men, however high their professions, and encouraged at the same time to attempt great deeds, even when forsaken by the men they have appointed, and paid, and vested with the power to accomplish them.

In the midst of disaster and defeat at home, the work of mercy commenced and proceeded abroad. In the month of December, 1837, the island of MONTserrat set the example of voluntary emancipation, by passing an Act, the clauses of which are to the following effect:

‘1.—Repeals Abolition Act, and all Acts auxiliary thereto, on the first day of August next. 2.—Apprenticeship to cease and determine, and all classes of labourers to be free on the said first day of August, 1838. 3.—Persons discharged from apprenticeship entitled to relief. 4.—Owners or directors of plantations to provide for diseased, aged, and infirm persons on their estates. Penalty of £5 for each offence, recoverable before any two or more justices; justices to issue warrant to bring offenders before them. If offenders convicted, and penalty not forthwith paid, to be committed to common gaol not exceeding twenty days. Penalties, when recovered, to be paid into the public treasury. In case any dispute arise as to the right of any party claiming to be maintained, then two justices, with the aid of a medical man, are to make a binding decision. 5.—If further compensation awarded

beyond £20,000,000 to be paid to the persons suffering pecuniary loss by the abridgment of the term of apprenticeship. 6.—Suspending clause.'

In April, of the present year, an Act of Emancipation on the 1st of August, passed the legislature of Nevis and the Virgin Islands. The following is an extract from a private letter to the Governor, dated Tortola, 13th of April, 1838.

'The General Emancipation Bills passed yesterday after a strong opposition.

'The news of the Bill having passed spread like wild-fire, and I was delighted on riding out last evening at the hearty salutations of the negroes.

'It is already evident that *these measures will prove highly beneficial*, as the people will quietly and contentedly slide into the new state of things, being aware a boon has been granted them. *I do not think a single planter who has any tact will lose a man who is worth keeping.*'

ST. CHRISTOPHER next followed. The letter of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Henry Macleod, to Lord Glenelg, will show the steps which led to the event. The part we have printed in italics is amusing.

'Government House, May 18, 1828.

'My Lord,—As it is impossible to communicate through Sir Wm. Colebrooke by this packet (which is hourly expected here), I have the pleasure to announce that the Legislature of this colony have resolved to abolish the apprenticeship system on the 1st of August next, and I have the honour to inclose the duplicate of a despatch I have addressed to his Excellency on the subject.

(signed) 'I have, &c.,
H. MACLEOD, Lieutenant-Governor.'
(Enclosure.)

'Government House, May 18, 1838.

'Sir,—My correspondence will have shown your Excellency that although I had hitherto failed in my attempts with the legislation for the abolition of the apprenticeship system in August next, I was still led to think it would eventually be adopted. Having pressed the matter, *I was asked for a dissolution, that the members might take the sense of their constituents. Your Excellency will think with me that in a small island like this, and where fifteen members for the rural parishes in the absence of the proprietary body are returned by thirty-five voters, it was not necessary;* and I was also aware that one great object was to throw out four members who support the government. Knowing likewise that parties at the time were nearly balanced on the question, I thought it politic neither to risk the loss of those I could depend upon, nor fair on these gentlemen not to have a voice in a popular measure, throughout which they have supported me. I did not therefore consent; but finding there was a great inclination, particularly in the

council, to reconsider the subject, I prorogued, and yesterday again submitted the abolition of the system on the 1st of August next, which I have great satisfaction in announcing for the information of Her Majesty's government was carried *unanimously in the Council, and with hardly a dissentient voice in the Assembly.*

ST. VINCENT. Copy of a despatch from Lieutenant-Governor Tyler to Lord Glenelg:

Government House, St. Vincent, May 12, 1838.

'My Lord,—It is with no ordinary feelings I fulfil the gratifying duty of transmitting to your Lordship direct by the mail, which leaves this evening, the copy of a Bill for abrogating the apprenticeship of prædial labourers in this colony, which passed the legislature yesterday.

'Your Lordship, on reference to my correspondence with his Excellency the Governor-in-chief on the 25th and 26th of April, will observe, I anticipated such a measure; I was not mistaken; its attainment, I am proud to say for the honour of the colony, has been accomplished, as your Lordship will see by the inclosed address from the Council and Assembly, spontaneously and unanimously, with *a perfect confidence in its results.*'

'To his Excellency George Tyler, Lieutenant-Governor, &c. &c. &c.

'Sir,—We, the Members of Her Majesty's Council, and the Speaker and Members of the House of Assembly, respectfully approach and place in the hands of your Excellency a Bill, intituled, 'An Act to abrogate the Apprenticeship of Prædial Labourers in the Island of St. Vincent and its Dependencies.'

'In passing this most important measure, the two branches of the legislature are not insensible of *the difficulties, the sacrifice, and inconvenience which will fall with much severity on persons in all professions, circumstances, and situations*; but, actuated by a spirit of benevolence and an enlarged philanthropy, they are of opinion they have not granted the boon of emancipation upon any conditions *inconsistent with the character, the safety, and the true interests of the country.*'

The Lieutenant-Governor replied in the following terms:

'The Lieutenant-Governor, in congratulating the Honourable Board of Council and the Honourable House of Assembly on the measure of emancipation which they have spontaneously and honourably granted to the prædial labourers by the Bill now before him, cannot but express his firm conviction that this instance of their liberality will *best insure the permanent welfare of the colony*; that, by cheerfully meeting the end which could not be indefinitely postponed, they have adopted the *safest and most certain means to encourage that confidence and willing intercourse*, which, by directing the energies to industrious exertion, will *convert our rural population into a faithful and happy peasantry.*'

It is difficult to perceive how a measure confessedly consistent with the 'safety and true interests of the colony,' calculated to encourage confidence and willing intercourse, and to 'convert a slave

population into a faithful and happy peasantry,' can be fraught with 'difficulties, sacrifice, and inconvenience to persons in all 'professions, circumstances, and situations.' The following are the provisions of the Act :

' 1.—Terminates the apprenticeship on the 1st of August, 1838. 2.—Renders unlawful the eviction from their habitations of labourers willing to work for wages (unless for ill conduct*) before the 1st of August, 1839; also of persons who from disease are incapable of earning their subsistence. 3.—Makes it imperative on masters to give food, &c., to those not able to earn their subsistence until parochial laws are made. 4.—Provides for the settlement of disputed claims. 5.—Mode of proceeding of justices and appropriation of penalties.'

BARBADOES, with fifty-four thousand prædial apprentices, quickly followed the good example of the islands we have named, and left all eyes directed to Jamaica. On the 11th of April, Lord Glenelg's Act to amend the Act for the Abolition of Slavery, received Her Majesty's assent, and was almost immediately sent out to Jamaica, accompanied by a despatch from Lord Glenelg, explaining the provisions of his Act and concluding as follows :

' Although in pursuance of the instruction which I have addressed to you, you will give immediate effect to this law. I think it desirable that you should at an early opportunity convene the legislature of the colony under your Government, and communicate to it the intelligence that Parliament has found it necessary to pass this Act in furtherance of the great measure for the abolition of slavery. You will further explain to them the course which her Majesty's Government have felt it their duty to adopt, in resisting the demand for the early abolition of negro apprenticeship by the authority of the Imperial Parliament, you will at the same time impress upon their most serious attention, *how deeply seated, and how generally prevalent throughout the population of this kingdom, is the solicitude for bringing, if possible, to an early close the system of apprenticeship, established by the Act of 1833.* You will point out to them the obvious, but weighty motives which recommend that this consummation should be effected by the spontaneous act of the legislatures of the respective colonies, due preparation being first made for those amendments of the colonial code which must accompany or precede the change. You will suggest the policy and expediency of their anticipating by *wise and humane* enactments the wishes and desires of the people of this country, on a subject on which so deep and general an interest is felt. By such a course they would avoid the serious embarrassment and inconveniences which may be apprehended from *the effect on the minds of the negroes from the repeated discussions and continued agitation of this question during the*

* Much will depend upon the persons authorized to decide upon alleged cases of 'ill conduct.'

remaining term of the apprenticeship, if it should not be abridged, and they would conciliate the gratitude and good-will of the labouring population, in whose disposition to work for fair remuneration and on equitable terms, the proprietors will be hereafter in a great measure dependent. I am persuaded that no exertion will be wanting on your part to allay excitement, and to produce good will and harmony among the different classes of the community, an object in which the interests of all are most deeply concerned.'

On the 16th of July we were in possession of Jamaica papers with the intelligence of the steps taken on the arrival of the new law and the despatch of the Colonial Secretary. The House of Assembly was convened on the 5th of June, and the proceedings of the two branches of the legislature opened by a speech from the Governor, his Excellency Sir Lionel Smith. We give the important passages. We have been informed by one present on the occasion, that the speech was delivered with a firm and decided tone, sufficiently indicative of his Excellency's determination to be trifled with no longer. One extract will be found worthy of a careful perusal.

'I have called you together at an unusual season, to take into your consideration the state of the island under the laws of apprenticeship for the labouring population.

'I need not refer you to the agitation on this subject throughout the British empire, or to the discussions upon it in parliament, where the honourable efforts of the ministry were barely found sufficient to preserve the original duration of the law, as an obligation of national faith.

'General agitation, and parliamentary interference, have not, I am afraid, yet terminated.

'A corresponding excitement has been long going on among the apprentices themselves; but still they have rested in sober and quiet hopes, relying on your generosity, that you will extend to them that boon which has been granted to their class in other colonies.

'In this posture of affairs, it is my duty to declare my sentiments, and distinctly to recommend to you the early and equal abolition of apprenticeship for all classes. I do so, in confidence, that the apprentices will be found worthy of freedom, and that it will operate as a double blessing, by securing also the future interests of the planters.

'I am commanded, however, to inform you, that her Majesty's ministers will not entertain any question of further compensation.

'But should your views be opposed to the policy I recommend, I would entreat you to consider well, how impracticable it will become to carry coercive labour. Always difficult, it would, in future, be in peril of constant comparison with other colonies made free, and with those estates in this island made free by individual proprietors.

'As governor, under these circumstances, I never shrink from any of my responsibilities, I PRONOUNCE IT PHYSICALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO

MAINTAIN THE APPRENTICESHIP WITH ANY HOPE OF SUCCESSFUL AGRICULTURE.

‘Jamaica is in your hands—she requires repose, by the removal of a law, which has equally tormented the labourer, and disappointed the planter; a law by which man still constrains man in unnatural servitude. This is her first exigency. For her future welfare, she appeals to your wisdom to legislate in the spirit of the times, with liberality and benevolence towards all classes.’

The reply of the council is dignified, liberal, and conciliating. They say,—

‘Being aware of the agitation on this subject throughout the British empire, and of the discussion on it in parliament, we duly appreciate the honourable (?) efforts of her Majesty’s ministers, to preserve the original duration of the law as an obligation of national faith.

‘We feel confident that the hopes of the apprentices will not be disappointed, and that the wisdom and generosity of the legislature of Jamaica, will not hesitate to extend to them that boon which has been granted to their class in other colonies.

‘We cordially concur in your Excellency’s wise and humane recommendation, of an early and equal abolition of the apprenticeship of all classes, and feel pleasure in recording our perfect conviction, that the apprentices will be found worthy of freedom in every respect, and will so conduct themselves in their altered condition, as to insure the future interests of the planters.

‘Coercive labour has, at all times, been obtained with difficulty; but under the present peculiar circumstances of this island, we fear it might be impossible to maintain the apprenticeship with any hope of successful agriculture.

So, then, it is manifest at last, that the abolitionists have been all along right in their judgment of the character of the negro, the true interests of the planters, and the policy most likely to promote the welfare of the colonies. The council of Jamaica being judges, the negroes are ‘*worthy of freedom in every respect*, and will so conduct themselves, as to INSURE THE FUTURE INTERESTS OF THE PLANTERS!’ The whole tone and tenor of this reply will appear most extraordinary to those who are acquainted with the history and past conduct of the chief actors in this novel scene.

The reply of the assembly savours strongly of haughtiness and petulance, and shows clearly, that their *voluntary* act was sheer *compulsion*.

On Thursday the 7th of June, a bill for the termination of apprenticeship on the 1st of August, 1838, was brought in by Mr. Guy, of St. George’s, and referred to a Committee. On the 8th it was passed ‘*without the voice of a single member being raised against it.*’ After this the friends of humanity need never de-

spair, how violent soever may be the opposition of the parties interested in the continuance of the evil they seek to remove. Let the advocates of negro freedom, in America and every other place gather courage from the contemplation of the events which have transpired in Jamaica, and persevere in the use of those moral means which have so signally triumphed in the most contumacious and rebellious colony of the British crown.

We have been greatly edified and amused by the perusal of the three days' debates in the House of Assembly, and, especially, with the singular zeal displayed in behalf of immediate abolition. Some honourable members desired it by the following Sunday, while others would have bestowed it on the day of her Majesty's coronation. The majority, however, deemed the 1st of August the most appropriate period, and thus the day prescribed by the people of this country will be literally observed, according to their wishes.

The bill, as it has passed the House of Assembly, consists of three clauses; the first declares the apprenticeship at an end on the 1st of August next; the second repeals all acts relating to apprenticeship; and the third recites the clause in the supplemental abolition act which passed during the previous session, authorising the proprietors to serve notices on labourers to quit.

We confess we should have preferred a simple declaratory Act abolishing slavery on the 1st of August, to the one adopted by the assembly. We think the provisions annexed to the abolition clause detract from its beauty and grandeur. Measures for the protection of the negroes in the occupation of their houses, and for the maintenance of the aged and infirm, might have been subsequently and separately enacted.

Amongst the motives which led to the passing of this act by the Jamaica House of Assembly, we think the following were the principal. A wish to avoid the infraction of their charter by carrying into effect the provisions of the odious bill of Lord Glenelg, and to escape the degradation and subjection consequent thereon. A conviction of the utter impossibility of making the apprenticeship work beyond the 1st of August, and their knowledge of the determination of the people of England to continue their agitation, and renew their appeal for parliamentary interposition. And lastly, their belief in the fitness of the negro for entire freedom, and his disposition to cultivate the soil as a paid labourer. The minds of the legislators of Jamaica and the planters generally were no doubt considerably influenced by the wise and seasonable letter of the Marquis of Sligo, addressed to the members of the Assembly on the 31st of March, last, which we greatly regret our limits do not permit us to quote. After adverting to the trying circumstances under which he assumed the administration of affairs in the island, and to the

manner in which his conduct had been regarded by the government and people of England, his Lordship enforces with great earnestness the immediate extinction of the apprenticeship.

The packet which announced the abolition of the apprenticeship in Jamaica, brought also the intelligence of the adoption of a similar measure in the island of Granada. This cheering information arrived very providentially on the morning of the day on which Lord Brougham moved in the House of Lords 'that an 'humble address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that Her 'Majesty would be graciously pleased to issue an order in 'council forthwith, to put a period, under proper provisions and 'regulations, to negro apprenticeship, in the unchartered colonies 'of the crown.' His Lordship argued the want of power in the crown colonies to effect the general emancipation of the apprentices, and showed that in some of them there were peculiar and pressing reasons for the immediate intervention of imperial authority. 'The crown was to them what the House 'of Assembly and the Legislative Council were to Jamaica and 'Barbadoes.'

'It was in the savannahs of Trinidad, and upon the alluvial soil of Guiana, that human life was most prodigally wasted in ministering to European avarice, and it was there that it behoved the mother country to interpose to put a stop to the inhuman deaths, to the diseases which were felt to be more cruel than death, to the fatal contamination which the necessity of labouring on those fatally unwholesome plains inflicted on those wretched victims of our pride. But the voice from Mauritius, which pierced their ear, and rended the silence of that eastern sea, was aggravated in its tones of pity, and fell still harsher upon their ears, from this hard addition to the lot of the slave, that three out of four of those who have cultivated the plains of Mauritius, all suffering worse torments than even those which were inflicted upon the negroes of Guiana and of Trinidad, had never in their lives been made legally slaves at all. They had been transported thither, not only against the law of nature, but after the law of this land had made transportation of the slave a capital crime; and 30,000 capital felonies had been committed in conveying 30,000 of these victims of their weakness, and planting them under the unwholesome climate, and upon the unwholesome soil of that Mauritius. If ever there had been a signal neglect of duty upon the part of a legislature, it was theirs, in not having at once broken through the fetters of a mere legal informality, and passed a new law to prevent the recurrence of those monstrous outrages; but in paying, on the contrary, the frightful sum of 20,000,000l. sterling as compensation to those capital felons, instead of giving them their deserts upon the gallows.'

His Lordship's eloquent exposure and denunciation of the 'felons' of Mauritius were richly merited, as was also his impeachment of the gross misconduct of the government in respect of that colony. The profound silence of the Colonial Secretary

upon the subject was significant. The bold charges of Lord Brougham were allowed to pass without notice. The first Lord of the Treasury and his colleagues tacitly pleaded guilty to the indictment. We could have wished that the noble orator had been even more severe in his rebuke of the patrons and the paymasters of the felon flesh-factors of Mauritius. Hereafter we may feel it our duty to drag to light some of the dark doings of those who have for years been among the most shameless and lawless traffickers in the bodies of men, and who are now engaged in kidnapping, from the plains of India, thousands of fresh victims to plant the sugar-cane upon the graves of the tens of thousands they have immolated. His Lordship pointed out most forcibly the benefits already derived from the free system in Antigua, and the danger of procrastination on the part of the crown, after what had taken place in the chartered colonies. 'A day's delay might be mischievous, a month's might be ruinous, half a year's might be fatal.'

'By all these considerations (concluded the noble Lord) by the character which this country has ever held for fortitude in war, and courtesy in peace, and clemency to fallen foes—by the patience which this country has ever displayed under its burdens and its sufferings, which however is as nothing when compared with the almost miraculous patience of the negro under the multiplied and monstrous outrages inflicted upon him—by the character which your lordships have acquired for justice, mercy, and religion—the Christian religion above all other religions, which, whenever alluded to, to point a sentence or adorn a period, is so loudly and even pharasaically professed—for pharisaical I will never cease to call it, if, with the gospel on your lips, you show that your hearts are strangers to its spirit—by the groans of myriads of bondsmen, echoed by twenty-four millions of free citizens, who call for justice at your lordships' hands—by all these appeals to your feelings, your principles, and your religion, I claim from your lordships an assent to my motion.'

Lord Glenelg stated in reply, that the Government deemed it the wiser course to oppose the motion of his noble friend, and leave it to the crown colonies to act as the chartered colonies had done.

'The legislatures in the Crown colonies, although not composed or constituted like those of the chartered colonies, yet were as competent to act and to legislate, and as independent in their acts as to internal legislation, as were the legislatures of the chartered colonies themselves.

'It was unnecessary for him, however, to dwell on this part of the subject, because in point of fact the Crown colonies were now taking the same course as the chartered colonies were at that moment pursuing. Early in the present year special letters had been sent out to the governors of the crown colonies directing them to bring the subject under the consideration of their local legislatures, and to state to them the reasons why her Majesty's government wished such a measure to be passed.

‘In TRINIDAD the legislature had been convened and met the day before the mail that brought the intelligence which had been already alluded to came away. There had been a message from the governor urging the consideration of this subject, and it had been fixed to be taken into consideration the day after the mail left. It was, however, from the information he had received, fully expected that this Assembly would pass an Act of the same description as had been enacted by those of the other colonies which had been enumerated.

‘From ST. LUCIA, the information he (Lord Glenelg) had received to-day, was that the Governor intended under the authority sent him from home to propose the same course, and no doubt was entertained as to the issue.

‘To GUIANA the same authority had been given—conveyed also in the strongest terms. He would not trouble the House by reading the despatch, but though to-day he had received no official communication on the subject, still he had seen a private letter from a source which could not be questioned, which stated that no doubt existed but that by the court of policy the measure would be sanctioned.

‘As to MAURITIUS he could only say, that there had not been time for information to arrive, but he must add, that the same authority had been repeated by him (Lord Glenelg) to that colony, in equally strong terms as to the other colonies, and that he had no reason to doubt that this instruction or authority would be there received and acted upon as it had been elsewhere. In short, he entertained no doubt but that in the Mauritius the prædial apprentices would be free from the 1st of February, 1839, and with respect to the other three Crown colonies the information he had received left no doubt but two out of the three had accomplished the work of freedom, and that the third was not very far from adopting the same course.

‘Under these circumstances, he should say that in all probability the work was complete; that the powers of these colonies was perfect; and further, that it was more than possible that all these Crown colonies had accomplished the same acts which the chartered colonies had already accomplished. Thus, he conceived that the question had been satisfactorily settled, and without the necessity of the painful alternative suggested by his noble and learned friend. In fact, when the house met again, he had no doubt but that the complete and unqualified termination of apprenticeship would have taken place.’

Lord Brougham finally withdrew his motion. In the course of the debate he took the opportunity of lifting from the brow of Lord Glenelg the laurel which his lordship, with singular complacency, had assumed, and generously gave the credit of having accomplished the abolition of the cruel system, to those who had laboured upon the highest principles, and with a resolution to which it was owing entirely, that Government had taken any steps towards redressing the wrongs of the apprentice, or enforcing the provisions of the Act of 1853.

We have thus endeavoured, with as much brevity as we deemed consistent with the importance of the subject, to place the present

position of the great question of Negro Emancipation before the readers of this journal, and we must now hasten to conclude an article which has already extended itself beyond the limits of the space assigned us. Our duty, however, requires that we call upon every friend of liberty to continue at his post. The present posture of affairs demands wakefulness and foresight. The good obtained must be secured. The evil threatened must be averted. Such laws as the one recently passed in St. Vincent must be exposed and condemned. The Colonial Office, somewhat roused, must be quickened and kept alive by the unceasing activity of the Anti-slavery Societies of the country. Though there may be now less need for declamation, there is unquestionably far greater necessity than ever for the exercise of all the legal acuteness and deliberative talent, which are to be found amongst the promoters of colonial reform. Attention must be turned to the laws of every colony in which emancipation is about to take place, and a vigorous and well directed effort must be made to effect an entire revision of their codes. We rejoice to perceive that the two London Committees are impressed with the importance of this business. Believing that it is the intention of the planters to reduce the emancipated negroes to the condition of serfs, and to establish a system of magisterial despotism through the means of vagrancy and emigration laws, contracts for labour, police regulations, &c., &c., 'they recommend the appointment of a competent and impartial tribunal in this country, with a view to the immediate inspection of all laws proposed to be passed as accompaniments to the Abolition of Negro apprenticeship:—the complete revision of all colonial laws affecting the constitutional rights and privileges of the coloured classes; and the final establishment of such just and equal principles of government, as shall be authoritative and binding on all future colonial legislation.'

If these things be done, and the efforts of the friends of personal freedom be seconded by enlarged and liberal plans of usefulness on the part of the friends of education and religion, we see no reason to doubt that in a few years the British colonies in the West Indies will be found peopled by communities as free, and prosperous, and happy, as any on the face of the earth. Then will be realized the promises annexed to obedience—when every yoke is broken, and every burden is undone—when the finger of scorn is no longer put forth, and men speak truth instead of vanity and lies—then shall the light break forth as the morning, and the darkness be as the noon-day. Then shall the old waste places be built, the foundations of many generations be raised up, and our righteousness shall be before us, and the glory of the Lord shall bring up the rear.

We had intended to refer to the probable effects of emanci-

pation upon the question of slavery in the United States and elsewhere; to the revival of the slave-trade by Messrs. Gladstone and Co.; and to the success which has attended the exposure of the execrable traffic in Hill Coolies; also to the extent and character of the African slave-trade at the present time; but we are compelled to defer the consideration of these topics. We hope hereafter to give them due consideration, and in the mean time we rejoice with all who love truth and justice, in the issue of a struggle, upon which the historian will dwell as the noblest and brightest feature of the age in which we live.

Brief Notices.

The Despatches and Correspondence of the Marquis Wellesley, K.G., during his Lordships Mission to Spain as Ambassador Extraordinary to the Supreme Junta, in 1809. Edited by Montgomery Martin. 8vo. London: John Murray, 1838.

Mr. Martin's edition of the Marquess Wellesley's Indian Despatches will prepare the public to receive with distinguished favour this supplement to that work. It is marked by the same features, and is entitled to similar praise. The Despatches and Correspondence are arranged chronologically, and throw much light on the condition of Spain when England commenced her interposition on its behalf. The future historian will avail himself largely of these documents; and such readers of the present day as are interested in the struggles and rescue of the Peninsula, will not fail to avail themselves of the information they supply. Few literary men deserve so well of their countrymen as Mr. Martin, and we shall be glad to find that his labours are duly acknowledged.

The Arabian Nights Entertainments. A new Translation, with copious Notes by William Lane. Illustrated with many hundred Wood-cuts, engraved by the first English Artists, after original designs by William Harvey. Parts I. & II. Knight & Co.

We hail the appearance of this new translation of one of the most entertaining, and even instructive books, to be found in any language. If the whole of the translation be characterized by the same purity, taste, and simplicity, with which these two numbers are marked, the public will have abundant reason to be satisfied. Of its *accuracy*, indeed, we do not pretend to be sufficiently competent judges; but of its elegance and simplicity there can be no doubt, and they afford a sort of internal evidence or proof of fidelity, of which the ignorant can judge. But on the score of fidelity, the reader may rest quite satisfied. The task has been committed to the hand of Mr. Lane, the well-known writer of the elaborate work on the Modern Egyptians, and one of the first Arabic scholars of this or any age. We have, indeed, heard it regretted that a new translation was ventured on at all; not because

the old was considered more accurate than this, for that is ridiculous, but because it has the charm of association belonging to it; this charm, however, is no sufficient reason for preferring an intrinsically inferior translation. 'The version which has so long amused us, not made immediately from the original Arabic, but through the medium of a French translation, is extremely loose, and abounds with such errors as greatly detract from the most valuable quality of the work, which is that of presenting a series of most faithful and minutely detailed pictures of the manners and customs of the Arabs.'

We have much pleasure, too, in saying that many of the indelicacies of the old translation are here suppressed. We trust that the same, or even a greater, measure of discretion will be exercised in this respect; nor is there any circumstance in our opinion which will tend so much to give this translation an advantage over the old one. The engravings with which the whole work is so exquisitely and profusely illustrated, are equally distinguished by originality in the conception and felicity in the execution. We shall report progress from time to time, as the work is proceeding, and give a fuller account of the whole when it is completed.

The Saints' Everlasting Rest; or a Treatise on the Blessed State of the Saints in Heaven. By Richard Baxter. Edited by the Rev. William Brown, M.D. Two volumes, 12mo. Edinburgh: Oliphant and Son. 1838.

The following extract from Dr. Brown's preface will best describe the character of this abridgment:—'I have endeavoured to perform the same service as I some years ago attempted for our Author's REFORMED PASTOR, of which several Editions have appeared, with an Introductory Essay by the present Bishop of Calcutta. It is not properly an Abridgment. It is only, indeed, about three-fifths of the size of the original; but this reduction of bulk has been effected chiefly by the omission of the extraneous and less useful parts of the work; so that, while I have attempted to free it from the defects, I trust it will be found to possess all, or nearly all, the excellences of the original. I have also corrected, but not modernized the language: that of the Author, though vigorous, is often remarkably careless; yet I have not so altered it as to change its venerable, powerful, and impressive character. In regard to the arrangement, I trust, that, in consequence of the omission of extraneous matter, the employment of a more distinct notation, and some small transpositions, it will be found much more luminous than even the original.'

Pietas Privata. The Book of Private Devotion, a Series of Prayers and Meditations; with an Introductory Essay chiefly from the Writings of Hannah More. London: Ward and Co. 1837.

This is an interesting Manual of piety; it is one of the best we have seen. It is beautifully got up, and is so compact that it may be carried without inconvenience in the waistcoat pocket.

Distinguished Men of Modern Times. 4 vols. (Library of Entertaining Knowledge.) London: Charles Knight. 1838.

A republication of the Memoirs which appeared some time since in the Gallery of Portraits. They are necessarily brief, and barren of detail, but constitute a valuable collection, and may serve to stimulate further inquiry. Men of all classes and parties; philosophers, poets, philanthropists, senators, statesmen, and generals, are included. An extensive acquaintance with such men cannot fail to exercise a beneficial influence on the mind, and we recommend our young readers, especially, to avail themselves of the introduction proffered by these volumes. The Memoirs are, for the most part, written in a good style, and it will be difficult to find in any other publication so much interesting information within so narrow a compass.

Beauties of the Country; a Description of Rural Customs, Objects, Scenery, and the Seasons. By Thomas Miller, Author of 'A Day in the Woods.' With Twenty-six Illustrations. London: John Van Voorst. 1837.

This book is well printed, and prettily embellished. It is intended to picturize each month, by a wood-cut and a vignette. They are on the whole successful. We cannot praise very highly the work itself. There is too constant an attempt at fine writing—allusions to classic names and personages, which cannot be familiar to the parties for whose benefit the book is evidently written:—and extracts from writers, both prose and poetic, so abound as to be unpleasant, especially if often read before. If a little more solid, useful information had been vouchsafed, in a less ambitious style, the value and interest of the work would have been much increased. The design of the writer is good, and his spirit commendable; and we shall be happy to see, in a future edition, if such a measure of success await him, that he has taken our hint in good part.

The Blessedness of the Righteous. By John Howe, M.A. London: James Nisbet. 1838.

Howe is a great favorite with us, and we rejoice at every effort to give increased circulation to his writings. The present volume is an abridgment of one of his most valuable works, which has not hitherto been as popular as it should be. The size of the work is reduced about one-third, by the omission of scholastic disquisitions, and those digressions in which Howe's genius not infrequently indulged. Obsolete words, and those which have acquired a low and vulgar sense, have been supplanted by others, such as Howe himself would probably have employed had he lived in the present day. The abridgment will be acceptable to many, and may serve, we hope, to introduce Howe to the acquaintance of some new readers. The title-page contains no intimation of the work having been abridged. This is getting into fashion with publishers, but it is scarcely honest, and ought not to be tolerated.

L'Echo de Paris: a Selection of Familiar Phrases, which a person would daily hear said around him, if he were living among French people. By Mr. A. P. Lepage, Professor of the French language in London. London: Effingham Wilson. 1837.

The great difficulties which any student of a foreign language has to encounter, are its idiomatic forms and proverbial phrases. This cheap little volume removes most of these difficulties, gives numerous specimens of French idioms and adages,—and supplies a copious French and English Vocabulary of the words contained in the work. It will be found an admirable and useful companion to those of our readers who anticipate a visit to the Continent. It is well adapted for schools and families, where the elements of the language have been acquired, and where familiar conversation is adopted as the means of attaining a felicitous pronunciation.

Medical Portrait Gallery. Biographical Memoirs of the most celebrated Physicians, Surgeons, &c., who have contributed to the Advancement of Medical Science. By Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, F.R.S., &c. Parts I.—V. London: Fisher & Co. 1838.

A work which cannot fail to be extensively popular with the medical profession, and indeed, with the public at large. It is got up in handsome style. The engravings are of a first-rate order, and the biographical sketches by Mr. Pettigrew, though necessarily brief, are replete with interesting and valuable information. The work is issued in monthly parts, each part containing three portraits, and accompanying memoirs. The publishers, we apprehend, will find it their interest to give a larger proportion of modern subjects than they have hitherto done. Among those already included in the Gallery, are Sirs Henry Halford, Anthony Carlisle, Charles M. Clarke, Astley Cooper, and Dr. James Blundell. We shall report progress as the work proceeds, and notice it more fully when completed.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

Will be published in the course of September, the Second Volume of Dr. Price's History of Protestant Nonconformity in England.

Letters from the West Indies, in the Autumn of 1836 and Spring of 1837 by William Lloyd, M.D. Post 8vo., with Lithographic Sketches of the Scenery.

Just Published.

The History of England, continued from the late Sir James Mackintosh. By William Wallace, Esq. Vol. VIII. (Lardner's Cyclopædia, Vol. CIV.)

The Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, as displayed in the Animal Creation, showing the remarkable agreement between the department of Nature and Revelation. By C. M. Burnett, Esq.

Colonization and Christianity: a Popular History of the Treatment of the Natives by the Europeans in all their colonies. By William Howitt.

A History of British Birds. By W. Yarrell, F.L.S. V.P.Z.S. Seventh Part.

Remains of the late Rev. Charles J. Paterson, B.A. Consisting of a Memoir with Correspondence, and Sermons. Edited by Charles J. Hoare, M.A. Travels in Palestine and Syria. By George Robinson, Esq. Illustrated with Maps and Plans. 2 vols.

History of Rome. By Thomas Arnold, D.D., Head Master of Rugby School, &c. Vol. I. Early History to the Burning of Rome by the Gauls.

An Ecclesiastical History to the year 324 of the Christian Era, and the twentieth of the reign of Constantine; with a description of the Martyrdom of those who suffered for the cause of Christ. By Eusebius. Translated by the Rev. C. F. Cruse, M.A. 8vo.

Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners, in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, and James I., exhibited in a series of Original Papers, selected from the MSS. of the noble families of Howard, Talbot, and Cecil. With numerous notes and observations by Edmund Lodge, Esq. Second edition, with additions, revised and corrected. 3 vols.

Memorials of Myles Coverdale, sometime Lord Bishop of Exeter, who first translated the whole Bible into English: together with diverse matters relating to the promulgation of the Bible in the reign of Henry the Eighth. 8vo.

The Holy Scriptures, faithfully and truly translated by Myles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, 1535. Reprinted from the copy in the Library of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex.

Ecclesiastical History, from the birth of Christ to the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, delivered in a course of Lectures. By William Jones, M.A., Author of the "History of the Waldenses." In 3 vols. 8vo.

A Memoir of Bernard Overberg, Regent of the Episcopal Seminary, &c., at Munster. With a short account of the System of National Education in Prussia: from the German of Professor Schubert.

A Daily Treasury for the Christian, consisting of Texts of Scripture, with appropriate selections from our best Christian poets, for every day in the year. By a Lady.

Bible Stories for the Young, with critical illustrations and practical remarks. Adam to Jacob. By Rev. T. H. Gallaudet.

Remains of the late Rev. John Martin, D.D., Minister of Kirkaldy. Consisting of Sermons, Essays, and Letters. With a Memoir.

On the Education of the People of India. By Charles E. Trevelyan, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service.

The Doctrine of the Deluge; vindicating the Scriptural Account from the doubts which have recently been cast upon it by geological speculations. By the Rev. L. Vernon Harcourt. 2 vols. 8vo.

Tales of the Great and Brave.

The Beauty of Holiness and other Poems. By George B. Scott.

The Chronology of the Ancient World: a Lecture delivered at the Mechanics' Institution, Ipswich. By W. H. Alexander.

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